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A SOCIAL PORTRAIT

OF

CANTERBURY IN 1870

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PREFACE

The concept underlying this thesis is far removed from that of an exhaustive monograph in a closely defined and narrowly restricted field. This is no chronologically staked history of the origins and growth of a local body or a political party; nor is it a definitive examination of the effects of a certain development or trend on another development or trend. It is rather, an attempt to reproduce a still shot of an era in the past; to stop the clock in 1870 and recreate the essence, the pulse, of the Canterbury community at that time. To this end the skill of the artist has been more than usually necessary to supplement the routine of the researcher.

For this topic has required continual moulding into shape. There is little unity or coherence natural to such a subject; this must be forcibly imposed by the writer and he has fewer guide rails in social history than in other fields. "A Social Portrait" is a decidedly vague phrase and might include almost anything; most aspects of life can be rendered socially relevant. The difficulties involved in imposing limits and form on such a topic are increased, if anything, by the problem of the number of different view points it is possible to adopt. The polemicist has a fixed

end in view and selects and uses his material according; even the political historian is sailing a relatively chartered course. My fundamental problem, I think, has been to decide what guide stars a social historian should rely on.

Such guide stars as I have used have sometimes shifted, or else I have abandoned one for another. One might take Canterbury as a twenty year old settlement and attempt to evaluate the scene in 1870 in terms of development from an unpeopled landscape. One might attempt to estimate how successfully earlier aspirations in this most systematic of colonizations had worked out in practice. One might compare the progress of Canterbury with that of the other provinces in New Zealand, or one might compare the conditions of life in Canterbury with those in England, the former home of most of Canterbury's populace. At different times I have used each of these standpoints; there does not seem to have been a more satisfactory way of clothing facts with relevance. If parts of this work appear somewhat loosely strung together this must be attributed to the shifting sands on which I stood as I painted my portrait. Religion and Education deserve separate chapters primarily because of the importance assigned to these matters by the founders of the settlement. Consistent with this static or portrait type of thesis the conclusion does not embody a summary of new findings but is merely an attempt to sketch the essence of the work in a few paragraphs.

Much so-called social history has suffered from a lack of concrete evidence to support certain points, more especially

certain feelings about the situation or period under discussion. After all, it is not always possible to trace the origin of an instinctive feeling which grows in one's mind after a prolonged soaking in original sources. Concern to base this work on solid, tangible evidence led me to turn to statistics as a foundation and as providing the necessary starting point for investigations. But it has not been my aim to reproduce a dessicated census return and where possible I have adorned and enlivened this skeleton with the flesh of contemporary comment and observations.

There is not a great deal of directly relevant contemporary comment readily available and I have relied perhaps too heavily on the writings of Lord Lyttelton, Lady Barker, Anthony Trollope, and Laurence Kennaway. Following E.H. Carr's dictum that one must examine the author before his work in order to be awake to whatever bees may be buzzing in his bonnet, I have appended, immediately before the bibliography, a note on these sources, consisting of the relevant biographical details of these writers and an assessment of the significance and relevance of their viewpoints.

This is, I feel, in many ways a pioneer work and as such reveals certain obvious weaknesses. Only now, with the necessary background of facts and soaking behind me, am I beginning to sense what kind of questions should have been asked from the start. I am also aware that I have covered too much too superficially. A good deal of the thesis is concerned with the preliminary process of establishing facts rather than placing these facts in their proper perspective, and I have necessarily relied on secondary sources for much

material. But I am consoled by the thought that other students may be tempted to use this work as a basis for further research, which could prove exceptionally rewarding. There is a good deal of original source material, possibly directly relevant to a topic such as this, which I have not been able even to glance at.

Acknowledgements are due especially to Mr. R.C. Lamb, of the Canterbury Public Library, and to Mr. J.C. Wilson of the Museum Library, Christchurch. My thanks also go to the many other people who assisted me at different stages, particularly people concerned with the various Churches, and those who helped me with maps and illustrations. Finally I wish to thank my typiste, who has done a magnificent job despite all kinds of eleventh hour changes and my illegible handwriting.

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Map of Christchurch by courtesy of the Canterbury Public Library.

Dray roads for map of Canterbury by courtesy of Department of Lands and Survey, Christchurch.

Note on Abbreviations, etc.

AJHR	:	Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives.
CPG	:	Canterbury Provincial Gazettes.
JPCPC	:	Journals of Proceedings of the Canterbury Provincial Council.
LT	:	Lyttelton Times.
NZOYB	:	New Zealand Official Year Book.
Press	:	The Press, Christchurch.
SPA	:	Southern Provinces Almanac.
TH	:	Timaru Herald.

MHR	:	member of the House of Representatives.
PP	:	papers ordered to be printed.
PT	:	papers laid on the table.
nat. av.	:	national average

1 : 236 signifies volume 1, page 236.

Statistics, 1861, 1 : Table 5 signifies part 1 of the 1861 volume of Statistics. Statistics 1861, 1864, 1867 were in two parts, part 1 being the census returns and part 2 the statistics for the year.

p.	:	page has been used only where absolutely necessary e.g. following a title which ends in a date.

Percentages have been taken to the nearest whole number except when comparing small numbers.

CHAPTER I

CANTERBURY IN 1870 : ECONOMIC CONDITIONS; THE POLITICAL SCENE; COMMUNICATIONS.

(i) Economic Conditions.

> Indeed, it is almost impossible for those who had not seen the country I refer to /the Province of Canterbury/ in its original condition to realize the amount of change and improvement which have been effected by the energy and industry of our race in the short space of twenty years, and it is difficult, even for those who have witnessed this gradual change, to comprehend or grasp its wonderful results.
>
> - W.T.L. Travers[1] lecturing in Wellington in September 1870.[2]

After twenty years of growth from apprehensive beginnings as an infant colony in 1850, Canterbury had developed and prospered to be without question one of the two leading provinces in New Zealand. Without denying in any way the worth or efforts of the settlers themselves, this success can be attributed to a happy combination of initial systematic planning and subsequent geographical or historical good fortune. Beginning their settlement some time after other pioneer sign-posting settlements, the Canterbury colonists got off to an excellent start; they

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1. MHR for City of Christchurch 1867-1870. He resigned 29 Aug 1870.
2. Quoted in LT 16 Sep 1870.

"were better provided for on their arrival than any other body of colonists which left England in the nineteenth century".[1] This was largely a result of the application of Wakefield's theory of systematic colonization, for all its shortcomings and miscalculations. Within five years of its founding the settlement was prospering. Economic viability, so desperately important to a young colony, was achieved with the rise of the pastoralists, quick to seize the great opportunities offered by nature's gift of abundant grasslands, and to see the wool trade as the basis of the settlement's economy. The discovery of gold in the early 'sixties brought high hopes that the economy would be boosted by a second natural resource. However, contrary to expectations, the "overall effect" on Canterbury of the gold rushes in Westland - until 1867-8 West Canterbury - "was far from beneficial"[2] and the greatest loss that the separation of Westland brought to Canterbury was one of prestige, involving a statistical loss in population, customs revenue, and export revenue.[3] What remained as Canterbury in 1868 was well pleased to be rid of the burdens of her transalpine neighbour. But the earlier rushes in Otago did bring benefit to Canterbury, for these rushes attracted a surge of immigration towards the South Island in the early 'sixties. East Canterbury was bound to derive advantage from these increasing numbers in her immediate vicinity. Some of these gold-seekers even settled in

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1. James Hight and C.R. Straubel eds., A History of Canterbury 1:226.
2. P.R. May, The West Coast Gold Rushes, 488.
3. Ibid., 466.

Canterbury, particularly after the first rush excitement had died down.

For population was of prime importance in the struggle for development and economic viability. By 1870 Otago and Canterbury had outstripped the other provinces in this respect; in this year these two provinces together contained 42% of New Zealand's population of 256,393.[1] Canterbury, having almost quadrupled her population in the six years between 1858 and 1864,[2] and then having lost 15,443 with the constitution of the separate County of Westland in 1867-8, by 1871 ranked as the third most populous province in New Zealand with 46,801 people, following Otago's 60,722 and Auckland's 62,335.[3] Canterbury's rate of population increase 1867-71, although higher than the general increase for New Zealand, also lagged behind that of Auckland and Otago.[4] The Lyttelton Times, clamouring for further and greater strides forward, asserted that Canterbury could easily maintain ten times its population,[5] and certainly density of population was roughly only three persons per square mile.[6]

Immigration was not, at this time, providing the answer

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1. Census of New Zealand, 1871, Table 2.
2. Canterbury's population rose from 8,957 in 1858 to 32,276 in 1864. Ibid. The population of West Canterbury was under 1,000 in 1864. May, 516.
3. Census, 1871, Table 2. Auckland had only overtaken Otago between 1867 and 1871.
4. Rates of increase 1867-71 were Canterbury 22%, New Zealand 17%, Auckland 29%, Otago 25%. Census, 1871, Table 2.
5. LT 17 Dec 1870. Canterbury's population is still below this estimate. (1961 population 344,597. NZOYB, 1962, p.49.)
6. cf. 1956 Canterbury 22, Auckland 34. NZOYB, 1961, p.60.

to the urgent question of increasing the population. The flow of immigrants to New Zealand as a whole was a mere drop in the bucket compared with the great surge in the early 'sixties, between 1861 and 1864,[1] and what immigration there was was very nearly balanced by the numbers leaving the country. Between 1867-1872 the greatest accession of immigrants into Canterbury in one year was only 1,703 (in 1872),[2] and in 1868 excess of immigration over emigration sank as low as 716. In this year excess of immigration over emigration in all New Zealand was only 860.[3] Not until the effects of Vogel's new immigration policy were felt in 1873-74 did immigration figures rise to a level comparable to the earlier influx.[4]

Provincial governments going through difficult times and forbidden to borrow clearly lacked the funds demanded by further immigration, despite their power, authorized in 1868, to use part of the land revenue for immigration purposes. Superintendent W. Rolleston did use this power eagerly,[5] being convinced that steady immigration was essential for a return of prosperity to the province, but it was recognized that Canterbury and Otago alone had anything

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1. In 1863 the national excess of immigration over emigration was 35,120. Statistics of New Zealand, 1874, p.18.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. There was a general exodus from Westland to the Australian colonies.
4. In 1863 there were 4,995 immigrants into Canterbury. Statistics, 1863, Table 2. In 1874 there were 12,304. Statistics, 1874, p.16. In 1874 immigrants to N.Z. totalled 43,965 giving an excess of immigration over emigration of 38,106. Ibid., 18.
5. W. Downie Stewart, William Rolleston, 53.

approaching sufficient resources.[1] Many advocated that immigration was a national problem, and as such the responsibility of the central government; the virtue of Vogel's scheme lay in its recognition of this principle. And as Rolleston, for one, realized, accounts reaching Britain of massacres in Poverty Bay and other disastrous incidents in the Maori wars hardly lessened the difficulties of obtaining suitable immigrants, even to Canterbury.[2]

Increased immigration was necessary not only in the general interest of the province's expansion but particularly to satisfy demands for a greater supply of labour, a demand which had been heard from the early days of the settlement when the possibility of importing Chinese labour was freely discussed.[3] There were loud and repeated demands for more labour in 1870,[4] following up claims that the province was perceptibly suffering from lack of labour, particularly at harvest time; there was an exceptionally abundant harvest in 1870. A traveller on the Canterbury Plains observed the plight not only of the farmer but of the whole economy of the province:

> I could see for myself that the oats and wheat looked magnificent, and I was astonished to see so many large fields of standing crops, full ripe, almost roasting in the sun; and in other cases, from 20 to 100 acres of oats lying on the ground, cut, but unbound. The explanation was that labour was not to be had for love or money.[5]

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1. Press 22 Sep 1870.
2. JPCPC, Session XXXI, May 1869, p.4.
3. Hight and Straubel, 1:229.
4. LT 12, 23 Feb 1870.
5. LT 17 Feb 1870.

It was true that the labour demand was seasonal to a certain extent and that a disgruntled group of unemployed workmen was making representation to the Provincial Government in August and October 1870.[1] The immigration officer, however, frequently commented that twice or three times the number of immigrants who arrived in the various ships could easily have been engaged.[2] The day the Siberia arrived was said to be clearly the busiest "engagement day" at the immigration barracks since immigrants were first introduced into the province.[3] This was at the height of harvest demands for labour; at other seasons of the year business was somewhat slower and families, or single mechanics or artisans, took perhaps a week or so to place. But agricultural labourers were generally sure of engagements and this class of man made up a substantial majority of what male immigrants there were at this time. Of 206 male immigrants on the four assisted ships which arrived in Lyttelton in the first nine months of 1870, ninety-six were farm labourers, twenty-nine were ploughmen, and eleven were shepherds[4] - this group thus made up 66% of all the male immigrants and ordinary labourers accounted for a further 15%.

Single women were at a similarly high premium, domestic servants being snapped up even more eagerly than farm labourers. Such was the demand that the Provincial Government was prepared to provide free passages to single women;

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1. See below, Chap. 2, p.38.
2. LT 25 Jan, 24 Feb, 29 Dec 1870.
3. LT 24 Feb 1870.
4. JPCPC, Session XXXIV, Sep 1870, PP.

single men and families were granted assisted passages. Domestic servants certainly made up the majority of these female immigrants. Of 193 single women on the four assisted ships which arrived in Lyttelton in the first nine months of 1870, 142 (74%) were domestic servants and the remainder were largely either dairymaids or cooks.[1] However the supply was insufficient to meet the constant demand and the "ladies" of the colony frequently bemoaned the lack of servants or the quality of those they did have.[2] Not the least consideration concerning female immigrants was that a flow should be maintained sufficient to reduce the imbalance of the sexes, which, although slight in comparison with other parts of the country,[3] was a natural carryover from the early pioneer years.

Granted a New Zealand-wide need for a revitalized immigration scheme, Canterbury's economy in 1870 was, if not flourishing, at least healthy. Both Canterbury and Otago were economically much better off than the other provinces; and this had naturally enabled them to develop at a faster rate. For New Zealand's economy varied greatly from one province to another in this period - boom and depressions were more provincial or regional in nature than colonial,[4] as the provinces were so divergent and isolated and at such different stages of development. The gold boom for example,

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1. Ibid.
2. See below, Chap. 2, p.34-37.
3. See below, Chap. 2, p.68.
4. "Colonial" rather than "national" was the adjective then in general use for New Zealand as a whole. In the provincial era New Zealand was not thought of as a nation.

favoured Canterbury[1] and Otago at the expense of the rest of New Zealand. Moreover the economies of Canterbury and Otago were themselves somewhat different. In 1870 Otago was gaining 45% of her export revenue from gold; Canterbury on the other hand had gained nothing from this source since Westland's secession in 1867-68. The basis of Canterbury's economy lay in wool - 66% of her export revenue was thus derived in 1870; in Otago wool contributed 50%.[2] External trade fluctuations seemed to affect the two provinces differently. In Canterbury wool prices dropped in 1869, in Otago they rose; in fact in 1868, 1869 and 1870 the value per lb. of wool exported from Otago was considerably higher than the value per lb. of wool exported from Canterbury.[3] Otago was certainly the wealthier province: in 1870 her export revenue was almost twice that of Canterbury;[4] but on the other hand Canterbury had built two lines of railway, one inside a tunnel, whereas Otago had none.[5] Otago was also much more heavily committed by debts than was Canterbury. Thus many generalizations about the state of New Zealand's

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1. Canterbury as in 1865, i.e. including West Canterbury.
2. Statistics, 1874, pp.154-5, 160. Otago's Provincial Government revenue also contained large sums by the Gold Fields Act.
3. Export returns of wool are not accurate as returns of the amount of wool produced by a province as some was shipped coastwise before export. They do serve as a guide, however. In 1869 Canterbury exported 10,013,395 lbs. of wool, value £387,557; Otago exported 10,793,775 lbs., value £642,887. Value per lb. roughly corresponds for 1868. Statistics, 1874, p.160.
4. Canterbury £800,349; Otago £1,457,215. Statistics, 1874, p.154. Otago here includes what was formerly Southland.
5. Otago, keen to construct a railway from Dunedin to the Clutha, was hindered by the prohibition, since 1867, on provincial borrowing. See W. P. Morrell, The Provincial System in New Zealand, 196.

economy in this period must dissolve in the light of the differing economic fortunes of the various provinces.

The year 1870 saw Canterbury beginning to emerge from a post-boom depression. The years of prosperity, 1861-63, could not last; in the mid-sixties the dull clouds of depression began to mar the sunny scene, although the worst effects were not felt till the late 'sixties. Superintendent W. S. Moorhouse, in 1867, spoke of no alleviation in the depression of the last three years, putting the onset of bad times as early as 1864.[1] Import and export figures, as well as amounts of provincial government revenue, indicate that 1868-69 were the years when the economic curve drooped to its lowest point. The year 1869 showed the greatest drop in wool prices.[2] In the period 1865-74 exports reached their lowest total value for one year in 1869,[3] imports in 1870.[4] The year 1869 brought the lowest annual return of provincial government income in the period 1865-74, whereas 1866 was the highest until 1873.[5] In October 1869 the situation was such that Superintendent Rolleston, although hopeful for the future, felt he could not congratulate the province on a return to its earlier progressive prosperity.[6] By 1872, however, his hopes were fulfilled and he was able to comment on steady progress and "sound prosperity".[7] Export revenue had risen with a rise in wool prices, and

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1. JPCPC, Session XXVII, Jun 1867, p.1.
2. Statistics, 1874, p.160.
3. Even allowing for the loss of Westland.
4. Statistics, 1874, pp.154 (Exports), 133 (Imports).
5. Ibid., p.173. The 1866 figure does include Westland.
6. JPCPC, Session XXXII, Oct 1869, p.1.
7. JPCPC, Session XXXVII, Apr 1872, p.2.

provincial government revenue was to soar after 1873. The bad times had temporarily passed.

The economic mood of the province in 1870 was one of cautious optimism. The clouds were lifting to reveal glimmerings of hope. The Lyttelton Times felt that

> Trade is by no means flourishing, but there are fewer complaints about 'bad times'. This may arise it is true, from people having made up their minds to the stagnation which has prevailed for so long, but we think there are signs of a more hopeful spirit being abroad, and a growing belief in a not very distant revival of that prosperity which the colony has hoped anxiously for in vain.[1]

The Press, Christchurch, agreed that the depression was lifting and then proudly asserted:

> We have... the satisfaction of knowing that, but moderately well-to-do as Canterbury is, there is not a province in New Zealand, with the single exception of Otago, that can for a moment compare with it.[2]

This optimism was due partly to rising wool prices,[3] a factor obviously of the greatest importance in an economy drawing two-thirds of its export revenue from this source. But even more important was the fact that the character of the economy was changing in a significant and promising way. If wool was contributing 66% of the export revenue in 1870, in 1869, despite a drop in prices, the proportion had been as high as 78% and in 1868 84%.[4] In the early days of the

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1. LT 30 May 1870.
2. Press 9 May 1870.
3. LT 30 Apr 1870 commented on a rise of 1d./ lb., with the prospect of a "marked improvement". Apparently wool "made a great jump in price" in 1871, after the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War. Edgar Jones, Autobiography of an Early Settler in New Zealand, 54.
4. Statistics, 1874, pp.154, 160.

Canterbury settlement it had been seen that pastoralism was the most obvious source of immediate prosperity, for, in spite of the known fertility of the soil and Wakefield's ideas, the scope for agriculture was limited by poor shipping facilities and the lack of proximate markets. Tillage was then a hazardous business; but by 1870 circumstances had changed, and since 1868 there had been a remarkable growth of agriculture in the province.[1] In 1870 Canterbury produced almost as much wheat as all New Zealand had produced in 1968.[2] Five years earlier the province had exported a mere 654 bushels of wheat, valued at £240.[3] In 1866 the record was even more dismal; no grain and no bran were exported, only the unimpressive total of two tons of flour valued at £34. Two years later grain, flour and bran exports were valued at £91,264, and by 1870 this figure had risen to £136,787.[4] This sum made up 17% of Canterbury's total export revenue for this year and 90% of New Zealand's total export revenue from these products.[5] In 1867, by comparison, the value of Canterbury's grain, flour, and bran exports had amounted to 10% of her total export revenue and 63% of New Zealand's total export

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1. John Grigg, of Longbeach, sowed his first wheat in 1867. P.G. Stevens, John Grigg of Longbeach, 30.
2. LT 17 Mar 1870.
3. Statistics, 1874, p.158.
4. Ibid., p.155. This increase despite a drop to £62,689 in 1869, a drop which adds to the evidence that 1869 was the bottom of the depression curve.
5. Canterbury's total export revenue for 1870 was £800,349. Statistics, 1874, p.154. New Zealand's total revenue from grain, flour and bran in 1870 was £152,660. Statistics, 1870, Table 21.

revenue from these products.[1] Agriculture was expanding rapidly, despite farmers' complaints about fighting an uphill battle or the serious risk of a labour shortage at harvest time.

Such expansion meant that an increasing amount of land was being brought into agricultural use. Of all the provinces in New Zealand Canterbury had the greatest number of acres under crop (217,527),[2] the greatest number of acres broken up and not yet under crop (31,791), and the largest number of holdings (3,244). Just over half the cultivated land was sown in wheat, oats and barley; in New Zealand as a whole only a quarter of the land under cultivation was sown with these crops, almost all the remaining three-quarters being sown in permanent artificial grass (grasses sown for pasture) - in Canterbury only 47% of cultivated land was thus sown. Not only was there a general increase in the amount of land under cultivation; the average yield of each crop was also rising, to the extent that Canterbury was producing 62% of New Zealand's wheat, 40% of New Zealand's oats, and 57% of New Zealand's barley. The only vestige of challenge to Canterbury's agricultural supremacy was Otago's production of 46% of New Zealand's

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1. Grain, flour and bran exports from Canterbury in 1867 amounted to £22,756. Total export revenue was £2,205,532. These figures include Westland. New Zealand's total revenue from grain, flour and bran in 1867 was £36,090. Statistics, 1870, Tables 17, 21.
2. This and the following agricultural statistics are taken from The New Zealand Gazette, 13 Jul 1870, p.324, and apply as to Feb 1870. There are a few minor discrepancies with the Agricultural Statistics of New Zealand, 1872, some referring to 1870, found in Statistics, 1871, appendix. See also LT 23 Mar 1870.

oats, and Auckland's heading the potato producers with 28% of the country's crop (Canterbury produced 15%). It was lack of labour, as opposed to difficulties with shipping or markets in earlier years, which chiefly hindered the agricultural development of even more of this fertile soil. Lord Lyttelton had observed in 1868:

> Every part of this arid-looking pasture is fine arable land, capable of bearing 40, 50, or 60 bushels of corn with little trouble. ... [but] in their [the colonists'] present condition as to population it pays better to stock them with sheep and sell the wool.[1]

In some ways the depression had had a stimulating effect. Rapid development of the agricultural potential of the province was accompanied by attempts to broaden the basis of the economy by establishing profitable local industries, and to this end the Provincial Council established, in October 1870, an Industries Committee, determined to consider especially woollen-cloth manufacture, flax-dressing and cultivation, madder, sericulture and the production of coal.[2] This was, in part, a recognition that there had already been some exploration in the province's industrial potential. The possibilities of the flax industry (many sources of experience deemed flaxrope better than manilla)[3] had evoked considerable discussion and even more newspaper correspondence; the chief problem, it seemed, was to prepare the fibre for market successfully - "to find a

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1. Lord Lyttelton, Two Lectures on a Visit to the Canterbury Colony in 1867-8, p.28. He was a little optimistic. The Agricultural Statistics revealed the average yield to be 28 bushels/acre (wheat), 33 (oats) and 31 (barley). See LT 17 Mar 1870.
2. LT 8 Oct 1870. H.F. von Haast, The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast, 591.
3. LT 30 Jun 1870.

machine which will do what the Maori does with his mussell-shell and toe-nail".[1] Despite such problems, by 1870 Canterbury's twenty-four mills led New Zealand in the output of flax, producing 1,531 tons; Auckland's fifty-four mills produced 1,138 tons.[2] A Flax Association had been formed, the industry contributed £52,000 (6.5%) of Canterbury's export revenue[3] and it was soon to be propogated as one of the province's leading industries.[4]

Other industries were beginning or expanding. Butter and cheese were being exported in increasing quantities, just under 100 tons of butter being exported from Canterbury in 1870, together with almost 120 tons of cheese.[5] A meat-preserving establishment, opened by the Canterbury Meat Export Company, began an export trade in tinned meat and also benefited the pastoral interest by putting a new value on surplus stock, formerly only good for boiling down.[6] Three sericulture works evidenced attempts to develop a silk-worm industry.[7]

The quantity of grain produced in the province afforded great opportunities for the malting industry and more than half the number of malt kilns in New Zealand were in

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1. LT 20 Sep 1870.
2. Census, 1871, Table 29. But owing to some material difference, Auckland flax was selling for £36/ton, Canterbury flax for £22/ton. LT 30 Jun 1870.
3. Statistics, 1870, Table 19A.
4. The Province of Canterbury. Information for Intending Emigrants, 34.
5. Statistics, 1870, Table 19A. The Press, Christchurch, believed that Canterbury's first export shipment of butter took place in 1870. Press 20 Jan 1870. Statistics, 1868, 1869, Table 19A reveal that butter and cheese were both exported from Canterbury in these years, if not earlier.
6. LT 12, 30 May 1870.
7. Census, 1871, Table 31.

Canterbury.[1] In addition Canterbury had a successful cider works at Rangiora[2] and the only wine factory in New Zealand. In fact, such was Canterbury's progress industrially that although her total number of manufactories and works (113) was second to Otago's (164) more hands were employed in industry in Canterbury than in any other province.[3] Furthermore Canterbury had developed a number of industries not yet established in any other part of New Zealand. Among them, Canterbury had the only boot and shoe factory, the only ham and bacon curing works, the only hatter and all three jewellery manufacturers.[4]

Such private enterprises boosted the economy, multiplied the number and variety of goods available to the community, and afforded evidence of the initiative of some of the colonists. The Provincial Government, in addition to establishing its Industries Committee, was encouraging some enterprises by the prospect of rewards. In December 1869 it offered two £500 rewards for the discovery of payable goldfields, one north and another south, of the Rakaia, perhaps relying on Julius Haast's advice that there was no possibility of such a discovery.[5] At any rate numerous active and semi-active companies were still hopefully prospecting in 1870. A second government

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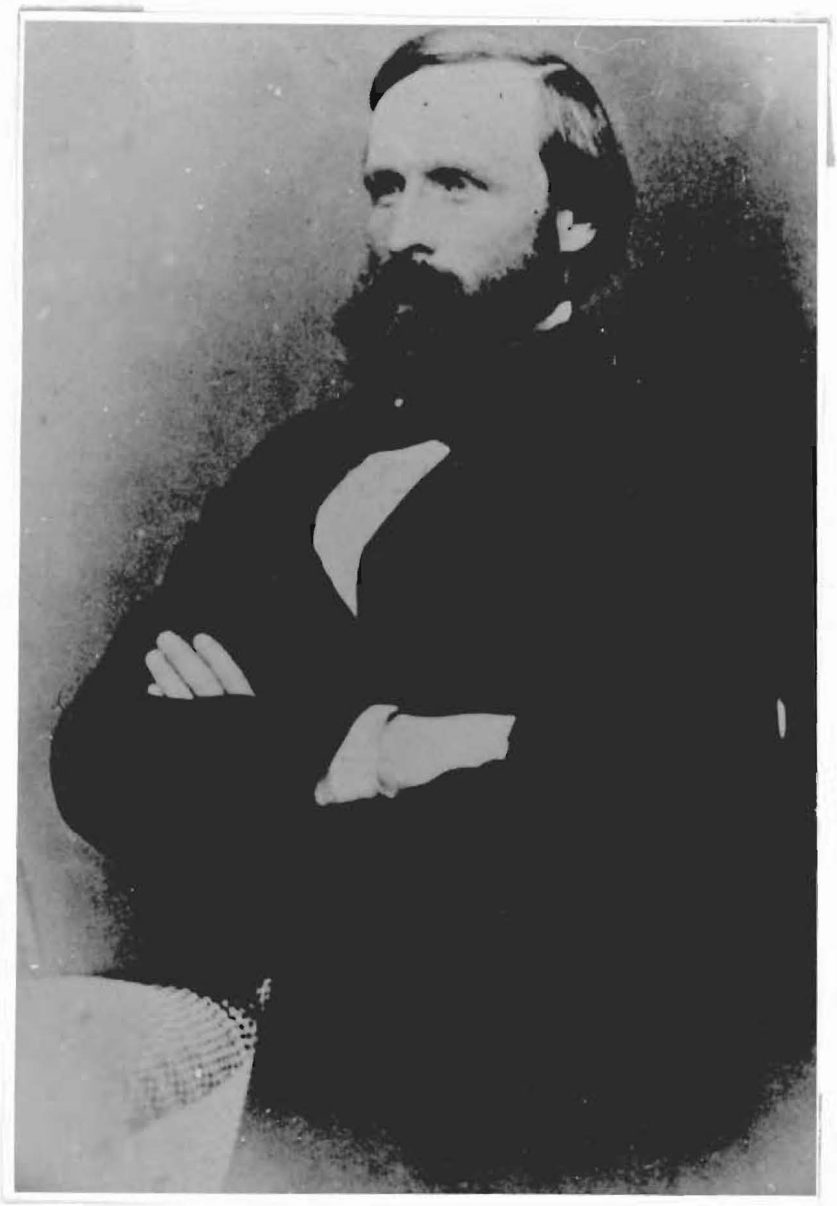
1. There were eleven in Canterbury, twenty-one in New Zealand. Ibid.
2. LT 13 Apr 1870.
3. Canterbury 1,321, Otago 1,135, Auckland 87 manufactories and works and 1,143 hands. Census, 1871, Table 29.
4. Ibid., Table 31.
5. von Haast, 562.



W.S. Moorhouse

incentive was a £200 reward to any whaling station in Canterbury which could export 100 tons of whale oil in one season. But the greatest incentive to industry in general was the opportunity offering in a small, developing community, at last, it seemed, emerging from the grip of depression and bad times.

(ii) The Political Scene.

Changing economic fortunes were faithfully reflected in the political arena. The prosperous years of the early 'sixties had seen W. S. Moorhouse in power as Superintendent of the province - a man of daring enterprise, justly famed for his spectacular and extravagant borrowings and for the determined manner in which he pushed through his ambitious tunnel project; a man suited to the expansive demands of a boom period. But by 1868 the times were clearly out of joint for such schemes and economic difficulties prompted cautious political conservatism. In this year William Rolleston was elected unopposed to the superintendency.[1] Rolleston decried the optimism and bold borrowing of Moorhouse; he desired instead patient economy and borrowing at a prudent if less spectacular rate. He was a man of an entirely different stamp to Moorhouse, but, like Moorhouse, a man suited to the needs of his time. If Canterbury has Moorhouse to thank for the tunnel, it has

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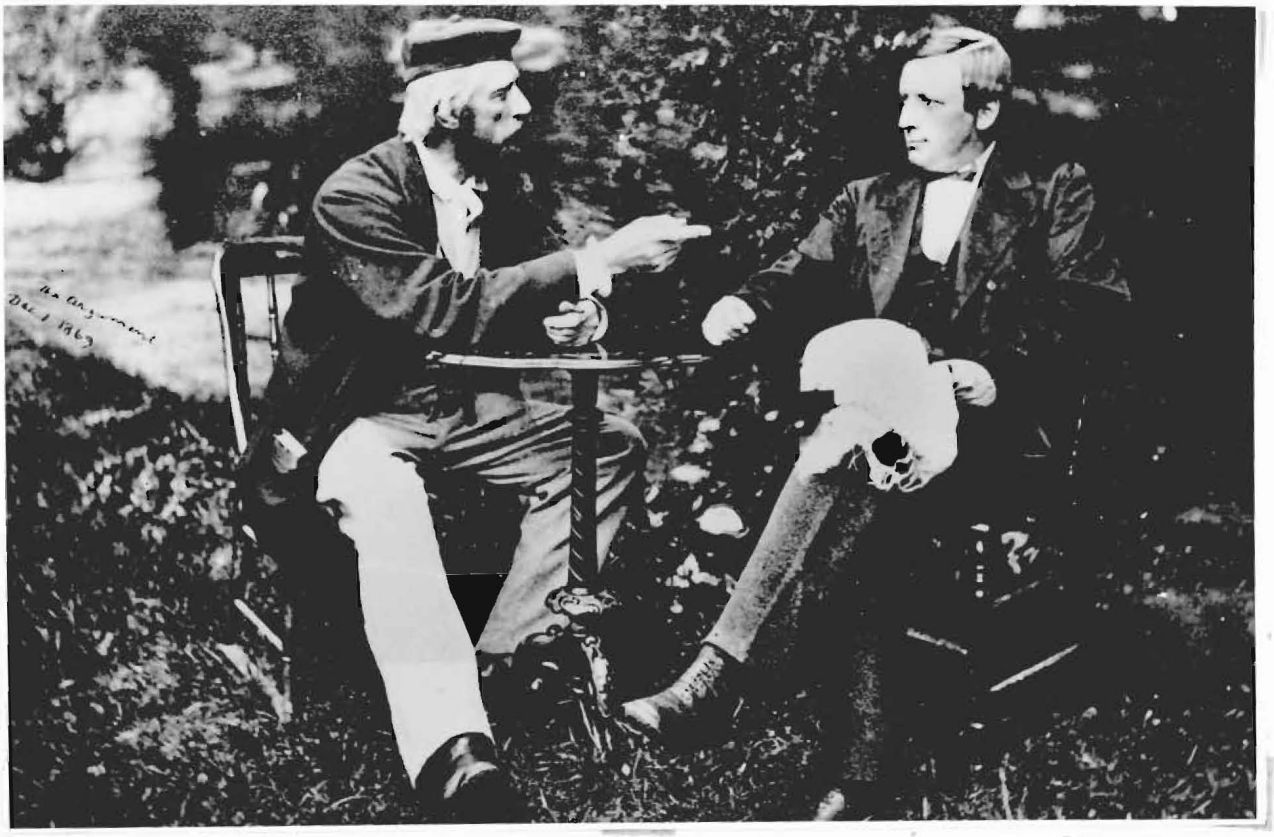
1. Moorhouse, first elected in 1857, had begun a fourth term in 1866, after that of Samuel Bealey 1863-66; a point which adds to the evidence that depression had by no means fully set in by 1866. Moorhouse resigned in 1868.



J.E. FitzGerald and W. Rolleston

FitzGerald was Canterbury's first Superintendent, holding office from 1853 to 1857.

This photograph, entitled "The Argument", was taken by Dr. Barker in his garden in December 1869.

Rolleston to thank for steady guidance through some difficult years, and for the consolidation of the province's institutions before the abolition of Provincial government.

In the face of assertions in some quarters that the choice between Rolleston and Moorhouse was that between "stagnation" and "progress", Rolleston convincingly defeated Moorhouse in the 1870 election for Superintendent.[1] 'By this time Rolleston's retrenchment and care were beginning to bear fruit and the electorate was sufficiently aware that the province could ill-afford the possibility of more grandiose schemes. Rolleston appreciated the great need for immigration and public works but was sensitive to economic realities, also to the general feeling in the province. The Press, Christchurch, although pro-Rolleston, remarked on the unprogressive attitude evident in the Canterbury of 1869-70 as compared with the go-aheadedness of the prosperous Canterbury of 1862.[2] The Lyttelton Times saw the conservative spirit in Canterbury coming to the fore when Andrew Duncan was not re-elected to the Provincial Council in 1870 - "stability has ousted progress"; Duncan had been keen to revise the Waste Land Regulations.[3] Regrettable or not, it was true that the ultra-progressive, expansive spirit of the early 'sixties had been replaced by one much more wary of 'change.

For many of the Canterbury public the defeat of

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1. Votes for Rolleston 1,800; for Moorhouse 897. LT 30 May 1870.
2. Press 21, 23 Mar 1870.
3. LT 9, 30 May 1870.

Moorhouse and the "so-called progress party" was a repudiation of the provincial system itself.[1] Provincialism, holding "undisputed sway" in 1862 when provincial revenues were flourishing, had declined in favour as the depression advanced; by 1867 it was denounced as "costly, cumbrous, and inefficient."[2] By 1870 it was obvious that provincial revenues were inadequate to deal with such essential problems as immigration and public works. There could be little justification for opposing centralist action in these matters, particularly if, as it was contended, the real work for which provincial institutions were established, with the exception of immigration, was being carried out by municipalities and road boards.[3] Julius Vogel's Immigration and Public Works Act, 1870, relieving the provinces of the immediate financial burden involved in introducing immigrants and constructing railways, marked the beginning of a powerfully directed anti-provincial policy. Rolleston was quick to capitalize on the new provisions. At the same time, however, he maintained his belief that a centralist government could not "represent or adequately promote the interest of the people" in certain matters for some years to come. He held firmly that "the systems of education, police, gaols, and charitable institutions", having been established and set in working order under provincial government direction, were, as yet, the responsibility of the Provincial Government.[4] He saw a field for centralist

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1. Press 7 May 1870.
2. Press 9 May 1870.
3. Press 10 Jun 1870.
4. JPCPC, Session XXXI, May 1869, p.2.

action and a field for continued provincial government. More positive centralist action was certainly desirable. While all the provinces were still relatively isolated and localized communities, largely self-sufficient, no province, with the possible exception of Otago, could categorically claim financial independence enough to undertake the public works and develop the natural resources as proposed in the name of progress. Furthermore such development was now being seen, if only occasionally, in colonial terms, rather than in a self-centred and small-minded provincial light.

(iii) Communications.

The blatant need for centralist action was not enough to destroy provincialism immediately. It was not hard to argue that the provincial system was, if nothing else, a physical necessity at a time when inadequate communications atomized the country into a number of different provincial regions, each of these consisting of several more or less isolated settlements. Physical isolation threatened to politically decentralize the country even beyond the provincial level. Westland had seceded from Canterbury in 1867-68; East Canterbury's ill-founded mercenary aspirations had not been able to alter the geographical separateness of what came to be Westland. It was the problem of communication, the Otira Road, which upset what might otherwise have been a

satisfactory political relationship between the two areas.[1]

Separation had been a theme in South Canterbury politics since the early 'sixties and in 1869 the South Canterbury Separation Movement was actively campaigning for the constitution of the south of the province as a separate County. In this instance isolation was certainly the prime factor. A sense of isolation had led to a "want of harmony"[2] with the rest of the province, even to complaints about unfair treatment and being ignored by a "despotic system of government".[3] Feeling was urgent enough to raise the cry of self-government, which if it had been granted, would have nurtured this isolation further and destroyed any hopes of greater cohesion and unity between the two areas. Isolation was not just a polemical myth, either. A Select Committee reported: "the district south of the Rangitata is geographically separated from the rest of the province", and furthermore considered that the problem justified the erection of an entirely separate County under its own County Board.[4] Fortunately the people from the south succeeded in getting more notice taken of their problems by a distant government without having to resort to setting up their own.

Timaru, with a meagre population of 1,418,[5] was in fact the centre of an isolated and necessarily self-sufficient community - it had its own recently-created

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1. May, 411.
2. JPCPC, Session XXXI, May 1869, PP.
3. Press 11 Aug 1870, quoting from the Timaru Herald.
4. Select Committee re Provincial Revenue 1869. See n.2 above.
5. Census, 1871, Table 3.

High Street, Christchurch, 1868.
Pungently named, indeed.

The corner of Stafford and George Streets, Timaru, 1868.
Timaru compares very well with Christchurch, from these two photographs.

Timaru and Gladstone Board of Works,[1] its own bi-weekly newspaper,[2] its own Hospital,[3] its own District Court and Judge[4] and its own gaol.[5] Local trade was developing rapidly. In 1870 more steamers were placed "on the line" to accommodate increases in exports of grain and wool, and a regular steam communication was begun between Timaru and Melbourne.[6] The New Zealand Meat Preserving Company thought Washdyke a worth while place to build a boiling-down works; the venture proved so successful that three months later the erection of a preserving meat establishment was begun.[7] Here was a developing but separate community; in the Christchurch newspapers snippets from the Timaru Herald were almost in the category of news from the outside world of the other provinces.

The Select Committee maintained that all the other so-called "outlying districts"[8] in the province (i.e. all those north of the Rangitata) formed part of the same community, with Christchurch and Lyttelton as the central hub.[9] The population of the province was certainly concentrated in this hub. The 7,931 people within the

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1. From 1867. See J.C. Andersen, Jubilee History of South Canterbury, 315-6. Morrell, 177.
2. Weekly from 1864, bi-weekly from 1866. Andersen, 506-7.
3. Timaru's first Hospital was erected in 1864, a new building was begun in 1868. Ibid., 500-1.
4. From 1870. Press 27 Sep 1870.
5. Although somewhat unsatisfactory. A new one was begun in 1871. Andersen, 609.
6. Press 20 Oct 1870.
7. LT 27 Jan, 21 Jun 1870, quoting from the Timaru Herald.
8. "Outlying districts" was a very commonly used phrase, indeed an apt expression.
9. JPCPC, Session XXXI, May 1869, PP.

Christchurch Town Belt increased to 12,466 in the "city and suburbs".[1] If to this total is added the number of people in the Avon and Heathcote electorates (3,144 and 5,084 respectively) and Lyttelton's 2,551, the grand total in this comprehensively central area amounts to 23,245 or very nearly half the total population of the province (46,801). Apart from Timaru, the only other settlements with any degree of concentration at all were Kaiapoi with 868 inhabitants, and Rangiora, whose numbers had declined from 1,042 in 1867 to 763 in 1871. There were only about thirty settlers in the vicinity of Ashburton.[2] These settlement areas were expanding, but at the same time the increasingly evident potential of agriculture was luring more people into the rural wastes beyond. Roughly calculated, the population in 1867 divided into 60% in the settlement areas[3] and 40% elsewhere. In 1871 the corresponding proportions were 56% and 44%.[4] Improvements in the inadequate communications system, the heart of the isolation problem, perhaps helped this trend along a little.

For travelling between settlements yet bore the aspect of a dangerous pioneer trek. Amongst Lord Lyttelton's

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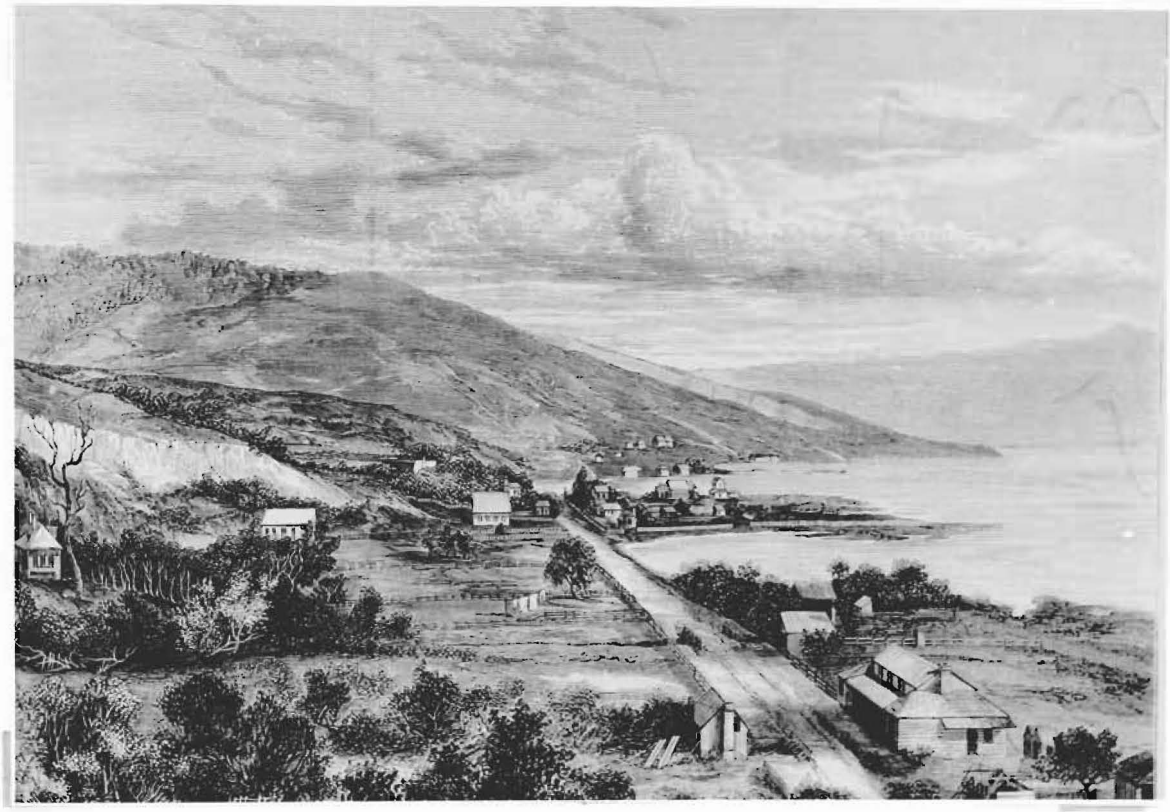
1. "City and suburbs" is a phrase used in the Census. It denotes the electoral districts of City of Christchurch East and City of Christchurch West. Christchurch had enjoyed the status of a city since 1856. R.C. Lamb, Early Christchurch, 19.
2. For the above population figures, see Census, 1871, Tables 3 and 4.
3. i.e. the "comprehensively central area" mentioned above and Timaru, Rangiora and Kaiapoi.
4. Statistics, 1867, Tables 3 and 4; Census, 1871, Tables 3 and 4.



Akaroa in 1870

Possessed of a lovely climate, and surrounded by beautiful scenery, Akaroa is one of the pleasantest summer retreats for the hard-worked merchants and tradesmen of Christchurch and Dunedin, by whom and their families it is annually crowded.

- Illustrated Press, 28 December 1870.

My son said that when crossed in love he should repair to Akaroa.

- Lord Lyttelton, Two Lectures on a Visit to the Canterbury Colony in 1867-8, p.35.

comments is this notable one:

> We made our first excursion into the wilder and more remote parts of the colony, to a place called Southbridge.[1]

A place thirty or so miles from Christchurch was judged wild and remote; later he described Akaroa: "it has all the appearance of extreme remoteness and isolation from all mankind."[2] When he undertook the eighty mile journey to J.B.A. Acland's home at Mt. Peel he found the trip, which took two days, "not only ininviting" but much of it "very fatiguing and laborious".[3] Sixty miles of this journey were over country roads or bare tussock and thus understandably uncomfortable; on some country roads there were ruts which, when filled with the inevitable rainwater, were deep enough to drown a lamb.[4]

Perhaps the greatest obstacle to travel over any distance was not the bad state or absence of the roads, but the presence of so many rivers. How could South Canterbury possibly avoid being geographically separate when the railway ran only as far as the Selwyn and the Rakaia was the only one of a number of difficult rivers between the Selwyn and Timaru which was bridged? Indeed the Rakaia was only bridged in 1870 when the ingenious Mr. Whyte, who had successfully bridged the Waimakariri in 1864,[5] had resorted to the use of gas pipes as piles; the relatively small surface area of these pipes meant that

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1. Lyttelton, 26.
2. Ibid., 35.
3. Ibid., 32.
4. LT 27 Sep 1870.
5. The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand, 3:76.

they were less easily carried away by the Rakaia's vicious "freshes".[1] "For years past the crying evil of the province has been the absence of bridges over the rivers", wrote the Lyttelton Times in February 1870,[2] by which time the question was beginning to receive more attention. Tenders were accepted for bridging the Opihi[3] and the Rangitata;[4] it was hoped that central government action (the new Public Works policy) would resolve the failure of Canterbury and Otago to co-operate in the construction of a bridge over the Waitaki.[5] The Ashburton and the Ashley were two other major rivers yet unbridged. Obviously a sequence of bridges over the rivers of the province would make an enormous difference to the general expansion of civilisation into the "more remote" areas. Lack of a bridge over the Rakaia was considered a major reason for so little land being sold between the Rakaia and Timaru.[6]

Crossing these unbridged rivers was a dangerous exploit. There are not only numerous stories about farmers and drovers having to wait several days to get their sheep across, and then often having an exasperating struggle, but many people were themselves drowned in crossing, despite ferry services operating at some of the more frequently used crossing places. Out of fifty-six inquests in 1870, five persons were drowned while crossing rivers,[7] while

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1. LT 22 Feb 1870.
2. Ibid.
3. LT 8 Feb 1870.
4. LT 12 Jul 1870.
5. See Morrell, 196.
6. LT 22 Feb 1870.
7. Inquest Reports, 1870.

in 1871 the rivers claimed the lives of eleven out of the seventy persons on whom there was an inquest.[1] It was not uncommon for the surging water to sweep a man off his horse's back, or even off the tray of a dray, particularly when the rivers were in flood. A mother and her infant were swept off a dray and drowned while crossing the flooded Ashley in 1871.[2]

The growth of agriculture emphasized the necessity for efficient means of transport for the farmers' produce. An expanding acreage under crop was dependent to a large extent on expanding facilities for conveying the produce to market. Existing roads were somewhat unsatisfactory. At one stage in 1870, when the main road from Timaru to Temuka was dangerous for light traps and almost impassable for heavily loaded drays, carriers refused to bring the grain in from Temuka to Timaru.[3] Railways offered more hope. But Canterbury's leadership of New Zealand in the construction of railways had not produced a great mileage of track. Having achieved the first line of railway in the Colony,[4] and then followed this up with the great feat of successfully driving one through the Port Hills,[5] Canterbury's railway development had stopped short with the extension of a Southern Railway as far as the Selwyn. Activity thereafter was confined to talk and discussion, particularly about the necessity of a Northern line to

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1. Ibid., 1871. Although three of these eleven were drowned in the Avon.
2. Ibid.
3. Press 22 Sep 1870, quoting the Timaru Herald.
4. Ferrymead to Christchurch, opened 1863.
5. This line was opened 1867.

serve Kaiapoi, Rangiora and the districts in this direction; £50,000 had been set aside by the Provincial Government for this project. By 1870 public opinion was clamouring for action.[1] There was considerable debate as to whether, with the limited funds available, the Northern Railway should not begin at Kaiapoi, transport between Christchurch and Kaiapoi to be by sea, using Kaiapoi's facilities as a port. Fortunately this shortsighted view did not prevail and the first sod of the Northern Railway was turned in August 1870;[2] this was, however, after the General Government had stepped in and assumed the immediate financial responsibility for certain authorized works in the provinces. Under the Railways Act, 1870, which followed the Immigration and Public Works Act, 1870, three new lines of railway were authorized for Canterbury - the beginning of the Northern Railway from Addington as far as Rangiora, an extension of the Southern Railway as far as the Rakaia, and an eleven mile line from Temuka to Timaru (perhaps a sop to the South Canterbury separationists); development was now to be seen in the tangible terms of steel rails and wooden sleepers.[3] But such was the urgency of the farmers' need to get their produce to market that, if they realized a railway was out of the question for the moment, then they cried out for at least a tramway in the meantime.[4]

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1. Press 16 Mar 1870, LT 4 Feb 1870.
2. LT 15 Aug 1870.
3. LT 31 Aug 1870; Morrell, 201-2.
4. LT 28 Feb 1870.

A coach on the journey from Hokitika to Christchurch crossing the Waimakariri in flood.

...the ferryman with a life-belt is showing the way, as the fords shift in every flood. The pole behind the coach is one of many placed on the different spits of shingle to show the fords. The view is taken from the ford opposite the Bealey looking up the Waimakariri. The river at the spot referred to consists of a number of streams, which in bad weather are sometimes quite impassable.

- Illustrated Press 24 August 1875.

In the country the horse or the dray; on the city's macadamized roads the hackney carriage, the waggonette, or an English-styled cart; between town and country the stage-coach; here was the 1870 traveller's mode of transport, unless he chose to ride through the tunnel or out to the Selwyn on the railway. The horse was the vital factor and to lose one's horse in the lonely outback, as Bishop Harper once had the misfortune to do,[1] was equivalent to losing one's camel in the desert. Coaches ran as far as the Hurunui, the northern boundary of the province, and until the Northern railway reached Kaiapoi and Rangiora in 1872 the north road to Leathfield was a famous coaching run.[2] Lyttelton rated New Zealand stage-coaches, descendants from the original American-styled Cobb creations, as "among its most notable institutions". Built to ford rivers and take the rough conditions which would have destroyed one of his "elegant" English coaches "in half a day", they were, he considered, "admirably contrived" and "admirably driven".[3] He was just too early to note the appearance of a strange new addition to the assortment of vehicles - the velocipede. By August 1869 there were two of these machines in Christchurch and at least two more being built, one in Timaru, another in Temuka.[4] Interest quickened, a velocipede race in December 1869 at the province's nineteenth anniversary

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1. L.J. Kennaway, Crusts. A Settler's Fare due South, 106.
2. Cyclopaedia, 3:76.
3. Lyttelton, 26.
4. A.D. Hunter, Early Transport in Canterbury, 109.

celebrations aroused a good deal of attention,[1] and shortly afterwards Timaru's newly-formed velocipede club held a public meeting to demonstrate the use of this new-fangled gadabout.[2]

This, then, was the physical world of the people of Canterbury in 1870; the essential background to their every-day lives, aspirations and achievements. Elements of civilisation vied with crude, unimproved conditions, reminder that but twenty years before the land was slumbering peacefully, unexploited, almost untouched. Now, in 1870, there were yet many places where man was grappling with nature for the first time, pioneering, self-sufficiently, in the outback. But in other areas there was cause for belief that he was firm master of his environment. For the most part the face of the earth had been changed, satisfactorily, to accommodate the needs of its new dependents, as Travers had proudly maintained. Despite a period of depression Canterbury was a land of promise and opportunity, not only relatively prosperous, but cautiously confident of the future. Economic realities, however, remained a constant pressure on the minds and energies of the people.

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1. SPA 1871, p.152.
2. Hunter, 109.

CHAPTER II

THE PROVINCIAL COMMUNITY: PEOPLE, INSTITUTIONS, PROBLEMS AND ENTERTAINMENTS.

(i) The People and their Living Standards.

Twenty years after the beginnings of organized settlement, Canterbury's population still consisted predominantly of overseas-born immigrants. Those born in New Zealand could be expected to be less attached, if only slightly less attached, to the image of a distant home country. But for both Colony and Province the proportion of New Zealand born was well under 50%, the figures for 1871 being Canterbury 38% and New Zealand 36%.[1] A predominantly native-born community lay in the future.

But the proportion of Canterbury's population born in England was considerably higher than this proportion in other provinces; the Canterbury figure of 35% contrasting with the New Zealand figure of 26%.[2] Canterbury's proportion of emigrants from Ireland, Scotland and Australia, although significant,[3] was less than this proportion in other provinces and in this way Canterbury could be deemed a shade

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1. Census, 1871, Table 12.
2. Ibid.
3. From Ireland 11%, from Scotland 10% and from Australia 2%. Ibid.

"purer" than the rest of the Colony. This was one result of Wakefield's attempt to export a slice of English society and it enhanced Canterbury's claim to be the most English of the provinces. Most of the immigrants were English even if they did not amount, en masse, to a stratified facsimile of the old society.

Maoris made up an insignificant element in the community. A "census of the native population of the Southern Islands", taken in 1868, indicates 607 Maoris in Canterbury, this figure including half-castes.[1] Stretches of land had been set aside as Native reserves and scattered Maori settlements dotted the province. The largest of these was at Kaiapoi, the site of the only Native school in the South Island; Kaiapoi's Maori population numbered 176. There were other groups of between seventy and eighty at Little River, Arowhenua, Rapaki and Waimate, and smaller numbers at Port Levy, Akaroa, Onuku and Ellesmere.[2] Native Commissioner A. Mackay, reporting in 1868 on the condition of these Maoris, found them better clothed and housed, in a better condition of health and less demoralized by intemperance than formerly. He commented adversely on their constitutional indolence, and their scanty cultivations and unfenced pastures. He also found them somewhat unclean; he considered that European parents would object to Maori

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1. A Compendium of Official Documents relative to Native Affairs in the South Island, 2:344. cf. "There are few Maoris in Canterbury, three or four settlements of about a dozen families,... comprising the whole number." The Province of Canterbury, 52.
2. Official Documents re Native Affairs in the South Island, 2:344.

children attending the schools of their own children on account of the "filthy" habits and "incurable itch" of many of the Native children. He furthermore predicted the gradual extinction of the race after noting an inadequate and increasing disproportion of females and the fact that numbers in the aggregate were stationary.[1] It seemed that increasing dependence on government assistance (the Maoris by and large were not keen on contributing towards native schools) signified an increasingly decadent morale.

Most of the immigrants had come to Canterbury to better their positions materially and to improve the conditions of living for themselves and their families. They found obvious discrepancies, particularly in the early period, between immigration propaganda in England and the physical facts and necessities which thrust themselves uncompromisingly on every settler when he first set foot on the soil of his new land. But despite this, most colonists adapted themselves quickly, many prospered, and few regretted their three to four month journey from the other side of the world. This was true at both ends of the social scale; and a social scale certainly existed in Canterbury at this time, although it was by no means as rigid, as restricting, or as obvious as that which had existed in England. J. B. A. Acland, a prominent high-country runholder, told Lord Lyttelton that "the colony quite answered his view and that he had never regretted coming".[2] Acland was the class

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1. Ibid., 2:143-52.
2. Lyttelton, 34.

of man Wakefield had hoped would make up the social elite, the agricultural aristocracy. From a social point of view it did not matter that the "aristocracy" which had emerged in Canterbury was based not on agriculture, but on pastoralism. Acland, for one, was socially pre-eminent; he was also finding pastoralism a most profitable enterprise. But Lyttelton also cites the case of a man in a quite different position on the social ladder, a man whom he had known in England and who had emigrated in 1859 with his wife and family. Lyttelton came across him nine years later in Rangiora:

> ...in a small house with a garden,... He was looking very well, not much older than when he went out, was very contented, and doing well and with occupation enough.[1]

Although a widower for some time he had eight children alive and prospering in Canterbury. Homes in Canterbury were "thoroughly happy ones", Lady Barker wrote, and there was "a greater amount of real domestic happiness" in Canterbury than in England.[2] Laurence Kennaway later echoed these observations, and reckoned there was "a more general average of happiness" in Canterbury.[3]

It is quite clear that there was no oppressed mass at the bottom of Canterbury society, as there was in England at this time. What may be described as the two "lowest classes" in Canterbury were the labourers and the domestic servants and these two classes, being heavily in demand, made the most of their circumstances, wore their supposed

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1. Ibid., 32 (n.).
2. Lady Barker, Station Life in New Zealand, 59.
3. Kennaway, 225.

"lowliness" lightly, and afforded magnificent contrast with their counterparts in England. It had been firmly hoped that demand would not exceed supply in this way, particularly in the case of labourers. Wakefield's principle of the "sufficient price" had been adopted and although the price of rural land had dropped in 1853 from £3 to £2 per acre it had remained at this figure which was high in comparison with other provinces.[1] Certainly a higher percentage of Canterbury's population was classed as labourers than was the case in New Zealand at large,[2] but this labour force could not keep up with the demands made upon it, even if labour demands did fluctuate and it sometimes seemed that the province was suffering from a surfeit of labour.[3] The vital position of the labour force meant that the prospects for an immigrant "worker" were good, in that wages in New Zealand were better than they were in England, and best in the more prosperous and advancing provinces of New Zealand, such as Canterbury and Otago. In 1870, for example, farm labourers in the West of England were said to be receiving maximum wages of eleven shillings per week;[4] in Canterbury a farm labourer could be sure of at least six shillings per day,[5] and sometimes, at the height of the harvest, as much as £3 per week.[6]

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1. See The Province of Canterbury, 46-7.
2. 7.43% of Canterbury's population were labourers, 5.58% of New Zealand's. Census, 1871, Table 14.
3. See above Chap. 1, p.5 and below p.38. If anything the proportion of labourers had decreased since 1861, the proportion then being 8.21%. Statistics, 1861, 1 : Table 12.
4. Press 8 Feb 1870.
5. This figure substantiated by Anthony Trollope, New Zealand, 89.
6. LT 21 Feb 1870.

He would also be kept or "found" and this could mean beer as well. Such was the position of the labourer. If a man possessed, as opposed to money, the personal qualifications of sobriety and industry, a good pair of hands and a willingness for manual labour he had excellent prospects for success.[1] Life was rough and strenuous and conditions often uncivilized but the opportunity to make something of one's life was there. A man's opportunity to create a life, in contrast to an existence, for himself and his family, rested largely in his own hands; he was not ground under, as in England, by almost inescapable hunger, poverty and the crushing prospect of being unable to better his condition. Opportunity was the supremely important characteristic of the new land - as Wakefield had written much earlier:

> If they [labourers in England] only knew what a colony is for people of their class, they would prefer emigrating to getting double wages here.[2]

For domestic servants the outlook was equally uplifting. The most aristocratically based society (supposedly) in New Zealand might be expected to maintain the highest proportion of domestic servants in its population but here Hawkes Bay with 4.29% of its population classed as domestic servants headed Canterbury's 3.45%; this was slightly higher than the New Zealand average of 2.74%.[3] Whatever the

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1. See Lady Barker, Station Amusements in New Zealand, 16; Lyttelton, 36 (n.).
2. E.G. Wakefield, A View of the Art of Colonization, 137.
3. Census, 1871, Table 14. Hawkes Bay had headed the list in 1861 with 5.9% as compared with Canterbury's 5.57% and the New Zealand average of 2.84%, and again in 1867 with 6.4% as compared with Canterbury's 4.06% and the New Zealand average of 3.32%. Statistics, 1861, Table 12; Ibid., 1867, 1 : Table 14.

proportion, it seemed that there were not nearly enough domestic servants to fulfill the needs, let alone the wants, of the "ladies" of the settlement. That demand constantly outran supply by such a margin raised the economic and social status of the domestic class and enhanced their prospects. Anthony Trollope depicted the situation carefully:

> The one great complaint made by the ladies... arises from the dearth of maidservants. Sometimes no domestic servant can be had at all, for love or money, and the mistress of the house with her daughters, if she have any, is constrained to cook the dinner and make the beds. Sometimes a lass who knows nothing will consent to come into a house and be taught how to do house-work at the rate of £40 per annum, with a special proviso that she is to be allowed to go out two evenings a week to learn choral singing in the music-hall... The truth is, that in such a town as Christchurch a girl of twenty or twenty-three can earn from £30 to £40 a year and a comfortable home, with no oppressively hard work; and if she be well-conducted and of decent appearance she is sure to get a husband who can keep a house over her head... It is not only that they /such persons/ get so many more of the good things of the world than would ever come their way in England, but that they stand relatively in so high a position in reference to the world around them. The very tone in which a maidservant speaks to you in New Zealand, her quiet little joke, her familiar smile, her easy manner, tell you at once that the badge of servitude is not heavy on her. She takes your wages, and makes your bed, and hands your plate, - but she does not consider herself to be of an order of beings different from your order... any well-behaved young woman who now earns £16 as a housemaid in England would find in New Zealand a much happier home.[1]

Trollope's picture, drawn in 1872, is substantiated by other sources, although £40 per annum was perhaps a little high for Canterbury in 1870. Domestic servants

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1. Trollope, 87-8. Cited as propaganda in The Province of Canterbury, 27-8.

arriving on the Merope in November 1870 were engaged at £16-£25 within a few hours, nursemaids and housemaids at £15-£25, and cooks at £25.[1] All the single women emigrating on the Zealandia, which arrived less than two months later, were rapidly placed at £20-£30.[2] The strength of the demand for servants, the ignorance of many who were necessarily engaged, and the unsubdued, almost egalitarian nature of their relations with their employers were common observations. Lady Barker, one of many "ladies" who were constrained to discover their own ignorance - it was not only the servant girls whose deficiencies were exposed - was writing six years earlier than Trollope, in a more depressed time, but found the situation essentially similar. A mother and mistress of a house herself, she stressed the inadequacies of the servant class and the exalted nature of their bargaining position:

> The great complaint, the never-ending subject of comparison and lamentation among ladies, is the utter ignorance and inefficiency of their female servants. As soon as a ship comes in it is besieged with people who want servants, but it is very rare to get one who knows how to do anything as it ought to be done....As for a woman knowing how to cook, that seems to be the very last accomplishment they acquire; a girl will come to you as a housemaid at £25 per annum, and you will find that she literally does not know how to hold her broom and has never handled a duster. When you ask a nurse her qualifications for the case of perhaps two or three young children, you may find, on close cross-examination, that she can recollect having once or twice "held mother's baby", and that she is very firm in her determination that "you'll keep baby yourself o'nights, mem!"

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1. LT 2 Nov 1870.
2. LT 29 Dec 1870.

> A perfectly inexperienced girl of this sort will ask, and get, £30 or £35 per annum, a cook from £35 to £40; and when they go "up country", they hint plainly they shall not stay long with you, and ask higher wages, stipulating with great exactness how they are to be conveyed free of all expense to and from their place.[1]

But she went on to say how desperately hard and cheerfully they worked, how they seemed willing enough to learn, and how rapidly they were snapped up as wives, concluding "no-one seems to expect servants to know their business, and it is very fortunate if they show any capability of learning".[2] Even if these assessments of the situation in Canterbury could be deemed slightly exaggerated ones, it is no wonder that Trollope described New Zealand as a paradise for the servant class.[3]

But not all immigrants found themselves in a land of milk and honey. Pioneer conditions, even after twenty years of settlement, sometimes proved overwhelming. Lyttelton met a woman at Kaiapoi who said that "she would give half her life to return to England; the place where she lived being a poor one at all times."[4] Kaiapoi was then in a wretched state, half-drowned from a violent flooding of the Waimakariri. Moreover Kaiapoi was at a considerably more primitive stage of development than was Christchurch. Lyttelton also mentioned that her two children were both doing very well for themselves. But the raw circumstances of life and the trying problems which

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1. Lady Barker, Life, 42-3.
2. Ibid., 44.
3. Trollope, 88.
4. Lyttelton, 32.

arose were the background to a disturbing amount of drunkenness and a number of cases of mental illness.

There were, too, occasional and short-lived complaints about unemployment. In August 1870 200 unemployed met in Cathedral Square to protest against the proposals of the General Government for further immigration; a register of the unemployed subsequently opened contained 110 names, 77 of these being classed as labourers.[1] The Provincial Council on receiving a deputation from the Committee of the Unemployed registered astonishment at the existence of such a situation, agreed that no more labour was to be sent for as long as so large a number remained unemployed, and announced that the railway to Kaiapoi would begin in the near future. Thirty nine men applied for and accepted employment under the Government at rates varying between three and four shillings per day, according to the numbers in their families. Members of the Council believed that most of the "unemployed" were good-for-nothings and loafers, and it was clear that the imminent Public Works schemes would soon absorb any excess of labour.[2] The situation was temporary and exceptional and did not refute the contention that more immigrants were needed for the general expansion of the province. But there were some cases of genuine distress. E.J. Wakefield, secretary to the Committee of the Unemployed, believed that 400-500 persons in Christchurch alone were dependent on chance jobs or public or private charity for their living, and he reckoned that the time out

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1. LT 11, 18 Aug 1870.
2. LT 18 Aug 1870.

of employment for the men on the unemployment register varied between nine months and one week, the average being fifty-four days.[1] Petitioners to the Government claimed that they had been induced to emigrate from England on false promises of constant work, comfort-providing wages, and the prospect of eventually becoming landholders;[2] and a letter to the Press, Christchurch, from "the unemployed workmen in Christchurch" advised their counterparts in England not to be taken in by "tin-pot visions" of colonial prospects.[3]

Certain types of immigrant found themselves in an unfavourable environment. Trollope advised no young lady to go out to win her bread after any so-called ladylike fashion.[4] A young educated gentleman perhaps sent out from England by his parents to make good or to do something with his life, and arriving with little or no money, was somewhat at a loss. Lady Barker asserted strongly, in an effort to dissuade parents from thus sending out their sons, that

> Capitalists, even small ones, do well in New Zealand: the labouring classes still better; but there is no place yet for the educated gentleman without money, and with hands unused to and unfit for manual labour; and the downward path is just as smooth and pleasant at first there, as anywhere else.[5]

She cited the case of a baronet's third son descended to the state of a bullock-driver, and driven by despair to drink and subsequent deeper melancholy;[6] an ex-dragoon

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1. Ibid.
2. LT 5 Oct 1870.
3. Press 14 Oct 1870.
4. Trollope, 88.
5. Lady Barker, Amusements, 20.
6. Ibid., 18-19.

officer working as a clerk in an attorney's office at fifteen shillings a week;[1] and a young man, fresh from University and "of refined tastes and cultivated intellect", leading the life of a boor in a lonely hut near Lake Ida. This last fellow had arrived with £1,000 but had been led into buying one of the worst and bleakest bits of land in the province and was apparently ruined.[2] One must either have money or be prepared to work with one's hands; there was scant prospect for the man who hoped to make a living solely on his brain. Only a fraction over 1% of Canterbury's population could class their occupations as "professions".[3]

Conditions of living were essentially healthy, much more so than those in England. Lady Barker noted changes in two typical colonists who had been in Canterbury three years. Not only did each man now own a cottage and twenty acres of freehold land, "as well as having more pounds than he ever possessed pence in the old country", but the very appearance of the men had improved considerably:

> Their bodily frames have filled out and developed under the influence of the healthy climate and abundance of mutton, until they look ten years younger and twice as strong.[4]

She herself relished the freshness of the air and the mildness of the climate. She contrasted "the upright gait, the

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1. Ibid., 19-20.
2. Ibid., 70.
3. By the 1871 Census .28% of Canterbury's population was classed as working in the professions (clerical, medical, legal) and .76% in the educated professions (teaching, surveying). Corresponding figures for New Zealand were .33% and .76%. Census, 1871, Table 14.
4. Lady Barker, Amusements, 15-16.

well-fed, healthy look" and the independent manners of the colonists with the "half-starved, depressed appearance" and the "too often cringing servility" of the mass of the English population.[1]

Want seemed unknown. The Lyttelton Times, perhaps carried away by the celebrations of the twentieth anniversary of the province, even claimed:

> So completely has production outstripped consumption that the chief necessaries of life - bread, meat and dairy produce - are cheaper in Canterbury than in almost any other country in the world.[2]

Certainly the price, in Canterbury, in 1870, of such necessaries as bread and butter compared very favourably with prices over the rest of New Zealand, and prices for grain, cheese, mutton, pork and milk were cheaper than anywhere else. Bread was 2d./lb. in Canterbury, as compared with 1½d. in Otago and 2½d. in Nelson; butter 8d./lb as compared with prices ranging from 7d. to 1/3d. elsewhere. Milk sold for 3d./quart, mutton 2½d./lb. and pork at 5d./lb. No doubt there was some variation on this rigidly statistical analysis.[3] The only relatively expensive commodities in Canterbury were beer and brandy. Beer was £8 per hogshead, as compared with £5 - £5 10s. Od. elsewhere and brandy was £1 8s. Od. per gallon as compared with £1 2s. Od. - £1 5s. Od. elsewhere. Nor were Christchurch's

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1. Lady Barker, Life, 41.
2. LT 17 Dec 1870. Lady Barker had considered all goods (except mutton) to be as nearly as possible at London prices, but she was writing in 1866 when depression was setting in. Lady Barker, Life, 41.
3. Statistics, 1870, Table 43.
4. Ibid. These differences may have been a slight factor in Canterbury's relatively low incidence of drunkenness. See below, p.

A Barker photograph entitled "Mitchell's House, Geraldine, 1872."

It illustrates the primitive nature of life in a sparsely populated rural settlement.

shops lacking in the variety of their merchandise. In the words of Kennaway:

> Every conceivable thing to be had in England can be had there;... from a saucepan to a steam-engine; and especially in the matter of raiment and apparel is the choice multitudinous, and every intermediate "sweet thing" in things is obtainable, from a gauzy nothing up to a "Moire Antique" anything.[1]

The 8,747 houses[2] scattered over the province, clustered in the populous areas, bore little relation to the simple V-hut shelters knocked up hurriedly by the first settlers. By 1870 it was noted how comfortable and how English most of the houses' interiors were, in Christchurch at any rate,[3] and it was maintained that there were "no poor or squalid cottages".[4] The least imposing habitations in the province were perhaps those made of cob, and there were probably still a good number of these; 1,785 (20%) of Canterbury's houses were listed as being constructed of some material other than wood, stone or brick, or raupo,[5] and it is likely that these were made of cob, this generally being a mixture of earth and tussock. Such houses were quite comfortable, if liable to be dusty[6] and in danger of being suddenly roofless,[7] or perhaps "small and unkempt".[8] Even in 1871 29% of the houses in Canterbury contained only one or two rooms.[9]

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1. Kennaway, 225.
2. Census, 1871, Table 5.
3. E.g. Lyttelton, 18; Trollope, 84.
4. Ibid., 87.
5. Census, 1871, Table 5.
6. Lady Barker, Life, 50.
7. W.P. Morrell and D.O.W. Hall, A History of New Zealand Life, 70.
8. Lyttelton, 27.
9. Census, 1871, Table 5.

Of a somewhat higher class than the cob dwellings were the many wooden houses, particularly the suburban villas on the outskirts of Christchurch. By far the greatest proportion - 77%[1] - of the houses of the province were made of wood, and the so-called villas were a feature of the landscape. Lady Barker remarked that "few people live in the town except the tradespeople; the professional men [what few there were] prefer little villas two or three miles off",[2] and Trollope, after mentioning the great proportion of "villa residences", wrote:

> All round Christchurch there are houses which in the neighbourhood of an English country town would denote an expenditure of £500 or £600 per annum and which here certainly cannot be maintained at a lesser rate.[3]

There were, then, obvious signs of civilized prosperity.

But there were very few houses - 236, amounting to less than 3%[4] - constructed of stone or brick, although it was stated in 1873 that "for some time past the principal erections [in Christchurch] have been carried out in brick and stone"[5] and Trollope had noted that the banks in Christchurch "as elsewhere, luxuriate in stone".[6] It is unlikely that "principal erections" refers to private houses and over the province in general homesteads in stone, such as that of T.H. Potts at Governor's Bay, or in brick,

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1. Ibid.
2. Lady Barker, Life, 47.
3. Trollope, 87.
4. Census, 1871, Table 5.
5. The Province of Canterbury, 11. A municipal regulation required that all dividing walls in such buildings be of either brick or stone. Ibid.
6. Trollope, 84.

such as that of Acland at Mt. Peel, were exceptional enough to attract some attention. Acland's house was of bricks made on the spot and was held up by Lord Lyttelton to be

> ...by far the best specimen of country house that we saw.... It is of the large cottage style like an English or Scotch shooting box; and inside, but that the dining room was yet unfurnished, like one of the pleasantest English country-houses.[1]

Lady Barker described the Ilam homestead similarly: "Inside, it is exactly like a most charming English house";[2] indeed this two-storey wooden house had been imported from England in some fashion. This was a not uncommon practice[3] and Lady Barker's own home in the Malvern Hills was pre-cut in Christchurch and packed up to the station on drays. A quarter of the province's houses were large enough to contain six or more rooms[4] and for some reason, perhaps larger families than elsewhere, or closer family ties, Canterbury, of all the provinces, had the highest number of persons per dwelling. This had also been the case in 1861 and 1867.[5]

Unexpected disasters might easily upset what regularity of pattern can be discerned in living modes and standards, and often struck at the very heart of a precariously balanced existence. In March 1868 the Waimakariri and Ashley Rivers had burst their banks and flooded out over the plains, wrecking unprecedented destruction over a wide

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1. Lyttelton, 33-4.
2. Lady Barker, Life, 51.
3. cf. Morrell and Hall, 69.
4. Census, 1871, Table 5.
5. People per dwelling in Canterbury: 1861, 4.92 (nat. av. 4.42). Statistics, 1861, 1 : Table 6. 1867 (Westland separate), 4.95 (nat. av. 4.04); 1871, 5.35 (nat. av. 4.48, Westland 2.81). Census, 1871, Table 6.

area, particularly north of Christchurch, which itself suffered considerable damage. Road and telegraph communications were disrupted; farmers' crops were scoured from the face of the earth; buildings, fences, timber, furniture and livestock were swept away in the raging waters, and two little girls were drowned at Rangiora.[1] Timaru suffered from a similar invasion of flood waters, and here, in addition to a great toll of sheep and most of the roads being washed away, ten lives were lost.[2] Recovery from such a disaster could not but be a long and costly process. Earthquakes were relatively frequent but less serious; Christchurch experienced a chimney-tumbling tremor in June 1869,[3] and there was another milder disturbance in August 1870.[4] Fire was perhaps the most constant danger. There were three sizeable fires in the central business area of Christchurch within five months in 1869-70, and each one consumed four or five buildings and damaged adjacent properties before much could be done to arrest its progress.[5] The Fire Brigade, soon to be assisted by the Volunteer Fire Police, were apparently as efficient and energetic as possible, but their equipment was inadequate to master a fire once it had a hold on any of Christchurch's many wooden buildings. The Brigade possessed two hand engines, a "hook and ladder" equipment and a horse-drawn steam fire-engine.[6] It was clearly better

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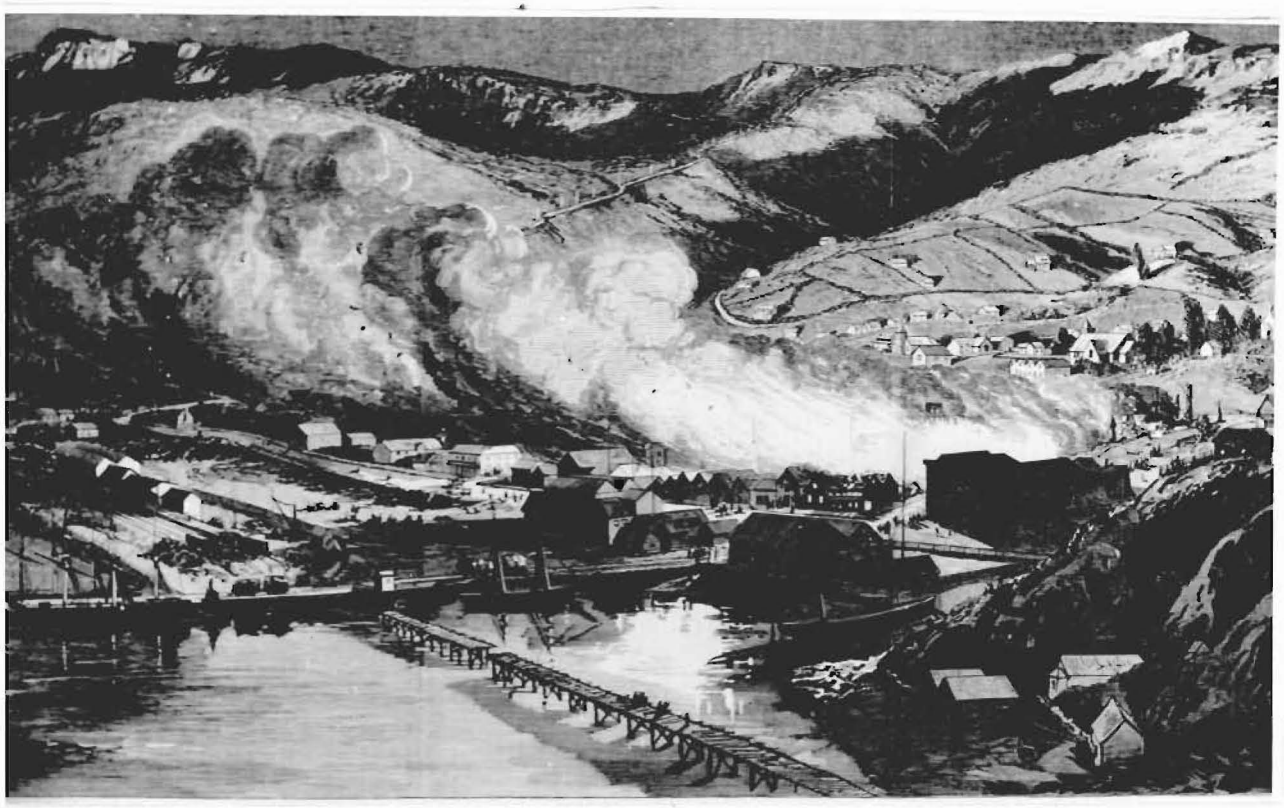
1. LT 4 Mar 1868; SPA 1869, p.111-2.
2. Andersen, 116-7.
3. SPA 1870, p.141.
4. LT 1, 2 Sep 1870.
5. See LT 19 Jan, 10 Mar, 5 Apr 1870.
6. See LT 19 Jan 1870.

The 1868 Flood - its effects in Christchurch.
The Gloucester Street foot-bridge may be seen on the left and the Government buildings in the background.



The Lyttelton Fire, October 1870.
The glare from this fire was visible over the Port Hills.

off than Timaru's newly formed Brigade; a report had commended this Brigade for its "signal" performance at a fire in Timaru in June 1870, but had then pointed out the necessity of an engine![1] One did arrive later in the year.[2]

The loss of buildings and property was a crushing blow to the struggling proprietors, particularly when such a small proportion of the properties' value was covered by insurance. After a great fire in Timaru in December 1868 in which 39 buildings were destroyed, losses were assessed at £70,000; of this only £29,810 was covered by insurance.[3] But it was the catastrophic Lyttelton fire of October 1870 which really highlighted both the inadequacy of fire-fighting techniques and the lack of sufficient insurance coverage. It was believed by the Press, Christchurch, that "no fire of such magnitude" had ever occurred before anywhere in New Zealand.[4] One hundred and twenty-nine houses were destroyed and 1,000 feet of frontage laid waste in one and a half hours. Damage amounted to over £100,000 but estimated insurance amounted to a mere £23,500.[5] Many persons suffered severe losses, only superficially assuaged by the fund immediately established in Christchurch to assist the unfortunates. Had it not been for the help of the Christchurch Fire Brigade, hurriedly despatched for the scene by train with their steam engine, even more of Lyttelton would have been consumed. The

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1. LT 7 Jun 1870.
2. Andersen, 584.
3. Ibid., 581-2.
4. Press 29 Oct 1870.
5. For this fire see LT 25 Oct, 5 Nov 1870. Some facts in the newspapers contradict J. Johnson, The Story of Lyttelton, 101-4.

Lyttelton engine was incapable of effectively pumping water the 400 feet from the sea to the fire, there was no other water supply, and the Lyttelton effort to stem the fire was sadly unorganized. Although the fire did have beneficial long term effects in that a new Lyttelton came to be built, the fire having demolished a large number of slums, immediately it was a tragedy - the deprived homeless filled the gaol, the Town Hall, the Orphanage and the Colonists' Hall.

(ii) The Individual and the State: Institutions.

> For God's sake, let us not forget works which are called for in the interests of necessity and humanity to our fellows, and which should precede railways and roads in the North Island, water-races for gold miners, and matters of that kind.
>
> - F. Jollie[1] in the House of Representatives, August 1870.[2]

Such a calamity as the Lyttelton fire might raise the question as to how much responsibility the State felt towards its individuals. The "State" at this time was identified with the various different Provincial Governments and as Jollie realized (he was pressing for a colonial penal establishment and a colonial lunatic asylum) provincialism was the heart of the problem. While the system divided the country few national institutions

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1. MHR for Gladstone 1866-70; Colonial Treasurer in the Stafford Ministry 1866.
2. Quoted in LT 19 Aug 1870.

were set up, yet there was sufficient doubt about the permanency of the system to question whether it was worthwhile devoting valuable time, effort, and money to establishing provincial institutions on a sound and lasting basis.

In the meantime, in Canterbury at any rate, communications and public works had first claims on the provincial revenue and carved off large slices of budgetary cake, leaving but a meagre portion for community institutions. Of Canterbury's Provincial Government revenue for 1870, £55,000 was spent on railways and £25,000 on roads and works; this may be compared with £14,000 on hospitals, asylums and medical and charitable relief, and £12,000 on Judicial Courts, Police, and prisons.[1] Economic principles of laisser-faire, aimed at safeguarding individual enterprise and boosting the development of the province as the sum of individual progressions, reinforced the Provincial Government's reluctance to assume any more responsibility for public institutions than it could decently avoid. There were but vague premonitions of a welfare state ideology that the community should support its ailing members, those who could not stand on their own two feet in the hangover from the Darwinian struggle for the survival of the fittest, which was what the first pioneer years had amounted to.

By 1870 some advance had been made into this

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1. Figures to the nearest £1,000. Statistics, 1870, Table 34.

prevailingly unfavourable climate. The most striking preview of welfare state organs, or it might be seen as a colonial version of the English Poor Law, was the Charitable Aid Department, sprouted by the Provincial Government after the passage of a Hospital and Charitable Aid Bill in 1864. This department managed to combine a variety of vital functions later taken care of by such measures as Social Security Benefits, Unemployment Benefits, Old Age Pensions and Widows' Benefits. Whether or not there were an increasing number of cases of chronic helplessness and destitution as the age and population of the community increased, and it is likely that there were,[1] by 1870 the department was normally granting aid to some seventy or eighty persons, expending approximately £60 p./a. on each.[2] There was a continual stream of applications, safeguarded by the necessity of recommendations from a minister of religion and a J.P., and not all who applied were successful.[3] Widows with families to support made up the most numerous class of claimant, followed by cases arising from illness or accident. There was a notable case in 1871 of a fifty year-old man who was receiving thirty shillings weekly allowance from the department. Because of illness he was unable to obtain employment, and he had to support ten children, all

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1. See M.L. Roper, History of the Social Services of the Anglican Church in Canterbury, 71.
2. Report of the Administrator of Charitable Aid, Provincial Council Session XXXVI, Jan 1872, PT2.
3. Between September 1870 and September 1871 33 out of 94 were rejected. Ibid.

between the ages of twelve and one year nine months.[1] Others receiving charitable aid were women whose husbands had deserted them, women whose husbands were in prison, and the aged and inform. Able-bodied unemployed men were generally put to work for the Government, and for those who were unfitted for more than light work employment was found under the direction of the Government gardener.

The Government was also taking care of a large number of orphans and destitute children. The Anglican Church, with government assistance, had established the Christchurch Orphans' Asylum in 1862 (Canterbury's first charitable institution), but by 1869 financial difficulties had led the management committee to abandon its burden, gently forcing it onto the Provincial Government who established a new Asylum for the 140 children in the old Hospital at Lyttelton. This was reputed to be a very successful establishment, with its three hours schooling daily, and its drum and fife band which played at all Volunteer Parades.[2] There were also fifty-five destitute children supported by the Government but under private care.[3] Many of the mothers of these children were in prison, others were in the Lunatic Asylum[4] or the Hospital. Sometimes it was an irresponsible father who had deserted his offspring, as in the case of one man who refused to live with his wife and would not look after even two of his

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1. Ibid.
2. See Press 4 Oct 1870.
3. Report of the Administrator of Charitable Aid.
4. Modern medical science prefers the term "mental hospital". However this had little meaning in 1870.

four children; they were consequently placed in the Orphan Asylum.[1]

Finance was the central problem of these struggling institutions and it tended to break down what co-operation there was between the Anglican Church and the Provincial Government. After the founding of the Hospital in 1862, the Government had voted £300 p./a. towards the stipend of a chaplain to the gaol, the Hospital and the Lunatic Asylum, and in 1864 Rev. H. Torlesse was appointed. But by 1866 his appointment had ceased to be - the depression had put an end to such luxuries in the Provincial budget. It was Torlesse who in 1864 had founded the House of Refuge for those "who had but lately fallen from the fatal consequences of their first downward step",[2] but his original hope that the institution might prove self-supporting with the income from a laundry service proved a vain one and the Provincial Government was once again obliged to assume some measure of support and control. Church resources were plainly inadequate to support their original inspiration, however worthy it may have proved; by 1870 the refuge had provided shelter for forty wayward sinners, and nine of these had been respectably married after their restoration to what was considered the straight and narrow way.[3]

For the physically ill the outlook was bleak. Certainly there was a hospital, finally built in the

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1. Report of the Administrator of Charitable Aid.
2. LT 15 Oct 1870.
3. Ibid.

twelfth year of settlement, but it was somewhat wanting in staff and equipment.[1] A sick person of any means would be treated at home if at all possible; for those in hospital fees of thirty shilling a week had to be paid unless this was clearly out of the question. Control of the Hospital, tossed back and forth between the Provincial Government and a Board of Directors, in 1870 lay with the Provincial Government who regarded the place as an unfortunate medical necessity rather than a public institution. There were not enough beds and there were not enough staff. In 1869 additions to the original building had increased accommodation to six wards and sixty-seven beds but this was almost immediately revealed as inadequate when the Hospital overflowed and some patients had to be removed to the Immigration Barracks.[2] For a total of 287 patients treated between October 1869 and September 1870[3] there were only two paid medical officers; other members of the "unusually small staff" were actively engaged in private practice.[4] There were, however, signs of a new awareness that a problem did exist. An appeal in 1870 by members of the medical profession to the Provincial Government did result in an investigation by a Select Committee and subsequent government

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1. A hospital had been built for Lyttelton in 1863 in Dampier's Bay; by 1869 it was closed. See LT 24 Aug 1870; F.O. Bennett, Hospital on the Avon, 12. (I am indebted to this work for much of this section.) A new hospital - the original one was erected in 1864 - was opened in Timaru in 1870. Andersen, 500-1.
2. Bennett, 61.
3. JPCPC, Session XXXIV, Sep 1870, PP.
4. LT 29 Sep 1870.

approval for two surgeons, two physicians, an ophthalmic surgeon and a house surgeon.[1] The Government was also persuaded to pass an estimate for a bathroom at the Hospital;[2] until now, following the principle that nothing should be introduced or changed unless justified by stark necessity, all proposals for a bathroom had been evaded under the insistence that the old portable bath was quite adequate.[3]

Public health was a major problem. If the general climate was unusually healthy, this was more than offset in the settlements by the primitive degree of civilization in many practical respects. Christchurch at this time has been described as "a city of abominations, grim and menacing for a hardy pioneer and intolerable for the fastidious". It was "less wretched but more dangerous" than in 1850.[4] Slops and other items of refuse were casually cast into the streets[5] and open cesspools aggravated the risk of a wide range of fevers. The Avon, a source of drinking water even after the mid 'sixties when artesian wells came into use, was still the city's main drain, as underground drainage proposals in the City Council had not yet come to anything.[6] The "disgusting effluvium" issuing from the Ferry Road drain provoked many complaints, even stirring one protesting versifier to create a nine-stanza'd "Lay of a City Sewer". It was

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1. Bennett, 36; LT 29 Sep 1870.
2. LT 24 Nov 1870.
3. Bennett, 61.
4. Ibid., 51.
5. Lamb, 32.
6. Ibid., 33-37. A.I. Hercus, A City Built upon a Swamp, 13.

signed "Carbolic Acid".[1]

Thus it is not surprising that fever was the main cause of illness and death. Dr. L. Powell, Medical Superintendent 1866-1868, analyzed the mortality in Christchurch during the decade 1860-70 and found that typhoid fever and diarrhoea headed the list of causes of death (26%), followed by lung disease (14%).[2] Dr. A. C. Barker noted in 1870 that it had been "a very sickly season, some sort of influenza having swept off whole families".[3] One poor fellow had lost his whole family of six in one week. But there were hints of improvement; Dr. Powell's researches also showed that between 1865-70 mortality from fever and diarrhoea had fallen away steadily and he attributed this to improved sanitary conditions, more efficient drainage, and an abundant supply of pure artesian water.[4]

Infants were particularly susceptible to the toll of disease. Of 483 deaths in Canterbury in 1870, 282 (59%) were children aged under five.[5] Of fifty-six inquests in 1870, twenty were "infants" and of seventy in 1871, seventeen were "infants".[6] The first year of life was the time of greatest danger and anxiety when even a mother's most careful and devoted care was often not enough to save her

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1. LT 26 Sep 1870.
2. Press 4 Aug 1870. From the Christchurch Hospital returns 1 Oct 1869 - 30 Sep 1870 most deaths were caused by phthisis (pulmonary consumption). JPCPC, Session XXXIV, Sep 1870, PP.
3. Quoted by Bennett, 50.
4. See also Lamb, 44.
5. Statistics, 1870, Table 4.
6. Inquest Reports, 1870, 1871.

child. Dr. Powell calculated that 43% of the deaths during the decade 1860-70 were of infants under the age of one year; he also found that more than 10% of the children born failed to reach the age of one year.[1] The doctor was inclined to blame the mothers: "I think it possible that women may be taught that infants will not live on water and arrowroot."[2] Some did, however; witness to their mother's care and often, ingenuity. One of Bishop Harper's daughters, who had married C. G. Tripp and gone to live at Orari Gorge, could remember

> ...making my child's first feeding bottle out of a tin, which I bent into shape, and the fingers of a kid glove, and until the baby Howard was a year old, he lived chiefly on water gruel and arrowroot.[3]

She was perhaps fortunate that she was rearing her child in the countryside. Lady Barker, who had lost her own baby in Christchurch in the autumn - March was the most fatal month - was more inclined to blame the poor drainage arrangements than dietary difficulties, and she drew a definite contrast between town and country conditions. "Children who are born on a station, or taken there as soon as possible, almost invariably thrive, but babies are very difficult to rear in the towns." Once over the difficult first year children did very well and there were few sickly or delicate-looking specimens.[4]

Mental disturbances were relatively common, but by

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1. LT 4 Aug 1870.
2. Ibid.
3. E.S. Tripp, My Early Days, 9. This refers to the early 'sixties, but makes a good point.
4. Lady Barker, Life, 58.

1870 mental patients were assured of better conditions for their care than were those merely physically ill. Before a Lunatic Asylum was opened at Sunnyside in 1864 conditions were certainly bad; mental patients had been indiscriminately thrust first into the Lyttelton Hospital, later into the Lyttelton Gaol.[1] The Asylum however, was highly regarded, particularly since improvements to meet the stipulations of the Lunatics Act of 1868. Reported as a "very clean, neat and airy" establishment, functioning under a "complete system of classification" (of inmates),[2] it was said to have "achieved a colonial reputation for efficient and successful management".[3] It was even suggested that it be made available as an establishment to serve the needs of the whole colony,[4] in this way providing an answer to Jollie's demands. But this institution, like most of the others, was finding itself incapable of coping with increasing numbers of patients. By 1870 expansion was imperative and £1,500 was spent on building a new wing for females only.[5] At this time there were about 100-110 inmates[6] and two or three a week were usually being admitted from sentences in the Magistrate's Court.

The Lyttelton Times, examining the report of the

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1. See Bennett, 53.
2. AJHR, 1870, 2 : D29, p.15.
3. LT 19 Aug 1870.
4. Ibid.
5. LT 4 Feb 1870.
6. 105 - 65 males, 40 females - is the figure given in the annual report on the Asylum. LT 19 Aug 1870.

inspector of the Asylum, found that most mental patients were engaged in "open air manual occupations", there being only four "brain-workers" in the total of sixty-five male inmates,[1] and Bennett considers that there was better mental health then than in the mid-twentieth century as the "social climate" of Canterbury was "unsuited to the development of neuroses".[2] But there were certain other important factors present then, and perhaps not so apparent as the age and civilization of the community increased. Common contemporary suggestions for the cause of mental disturbances were melancholia resulting from separation from home, derangement from excessive isolation, or simply over-indulgence in drink. Lyttelton believed the last to be the strongest cause.[3] His belief is substantiated by a report of 1862 ascribing nine out of fourteen male cases of insanity to drink, three to head injury, and two to solitude on outstations.[4] The prevalence of hard drinking was scarcely likely to ameliorate nascent mental illnesses prompted by isolation or inability to face unexpected problems.

If mental patients were adequately provided for, law-breakers were not. There were two main gaols in Canterbury, one at Lyttelton which catered only for males and usually contained between seventy and ninety inmates at this time, and one at Christchurch which did make provision for women and usually contained between fifty and sixty inmates,

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1. LT 19 Aug 1870. There were relatively few "brain-workers". See above, p.40.
2. Bennett, 53.
3. Lyttelton, 23.
4. Bennett, 53.

about equal numbers of men and women. Timaru's police barracks were unsatisfactory enough to warrant the building of a proper gaol in 1871-72.[1] Once again under pressure of necessity, in December 1870 the Provincial Government invited tenders for the construction of a permanent new gaol of 100 cells at Addington, and the section for females was got under way rapidly, concrete blocks being successfully used as a building experiment.[2] Comments of the time expose the conditions liable to be experienced in these places of confinement. A Wellington judge believed that the majority of those committed to New Zealand's gaols in 1869 "would gain their liberty in a worse condition morally and in a state more dangerous to society than at the time of their committal".[3] An inquest case in Canterbury in 1871 shows Canterbury to be no exception to this impression. A man was given the verdict of death from congestive apoplexy in a state of delirium tremens, accelerated by blows on the head inflicted by himself on the walls of his cell. The jury, in giving this verdict, added that they thought the cell quite unfit for a person in his state of mind, and that the government should provide better accommodation and proper attendance.[4]

Unsatisfactory gaol conditions may have been among the "inadequate facilities" complained of by the Commissioner of Police, J.C. Shearman, in making his annual report in

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1. Andersen, 609-10.
2. LT 5, 15 Dec 1870.
3. Mr. Justice Johnston addressing the Wellington Grand Jury on "The Gaols of the Colony". LT 15 Dec 1870.
4. Inquest Reports, 1871.

1871.[1] But he was more concerned with the relatively small size of Canterbury's Police Force. A total of forty-two men, twenty-one in Christchurch and the others scattered round the province's fifteen stations, gave a ratio of policemen : population of less than 1 : 1,000 which Shearman claimed was about half the strength allowed in the other provinces or the Australian colonies. Furthermore, he asserted, the cost of maintaining the Force - 4/2d. per head of population - compared more than favourably with these other areas but was reflected in his "inadequate facilities". His remarks parallel Jollie's arguments that the distribution of Provincial Government monies should be determined from a different standard of values.

In the face of certain obvious community needs and the collapse of various Church-inspired welfare ventures, the Provincial Government found itself obliged to control and develop certain community institutions; the presence of a number of expanding institutions marked the dawning of a community awareness. But the welfare state was a long way ahead. Cases of distress were being taken care of but there was no coddling of able-bodied persons. It is on record that an eighty-four year old worker was employed at the government gardens in 1871.[2]

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1. Report of the Commissioner of Police for year ended 30 Sep 1871. JPCPC, Session XXXVI, Jan 1872, PP.
2. Inquest Reports, 1871.

(iii) Social Problems: Crime, Drunkenness and Prostitution.

> The commonest and most destructive vice of the day, without question is intemperance.
>
> - The Lyttelton Times, 17 February 1870.

Whether Shearman's Force was efficient in deterring law-breakers, or rather lax in capturing them, Canterbury's crime rate in 1870 was slightly lower than that of New Zealand at large. In Canterbury the ratio of convictions per head of population was 1 : 24; in New Zealand the corresponding ratio was 1 : 21.[1] Canterbury appears to have been even more law-abiding back in 1864, when the province's crime ratio was 1 : 29 as compared with the New Zealand ratio of 1 : 15, a ratio which had increased rapidly over the previous three years. But after 1864 Canterbury's crime rate increased steadily, making a noticeable leap between 1870-74, the ratio in 1874 being 1 : 15. As Canterbury's crime rate increased, New Zealand's decreased, remaining at 1870's level in 1874; at this date, then, Canterbury's crime rate was considerably higher than New Zealand's. There was a big increase in the flow of immigrants to Canterbury in 1873-4, similar to the big influx to New Zealand in the early 'sixties,[2] and it seems not unreasonable to associate the increased numbers of

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1. For these and the following figures see Appendix A.
2. For immigration figures, see Chap. 1, p.4.

immigrants with the increases in the crime rate. Canterbury's relatively virtuous position in the early 'sixties may indicate careful gazetting of immigrants and do something to substantiate the claim that Canterbury had attracted the cream, as opposed to the dregs, of the working-class immigrants.

It must be remembered that most specified convictions were for drunkenness; numbers of convictions for this "crime" were far ahead of those on the next count, assault. In 1870, by no means a conspicuously drunken year, 509 persons were convicted for drunkenness in Canterbury's eleven Magistrates' Courts, and eighty-nine were convicted for assault;[1] only thirty-three were convicted in the Supreme Court on criminal charges.[2] These 509 convictions for drunkenness, which were only about two-thirds of the total apprehensions on this charge, made up 27% of Canterbury's total convictions for the year. Although this proportion was on the increase it was still well below the New Zealand figure of 39%. It did not compare, however, as well as it had in 1867, when over New Zealand at large 45% of all convictions had been for drunkenness whereas in Canterbury the figure was as low as 17%. But Canterbury in 1870 appears considerably more sober than the rest of the Colony; her ratio of convictions for drunkenness per head of population was 1 : 91 as compared with New Zealand's 1 : 55. Christchurch's 353 convictions for drunkenness fell

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1. For these and the following figures see Appendix B.
2. Statistics, 1870, Table 56.

well short of Auckland's 997, Dunedin's 654, or Shortland's 424.[1]

Figures would suggest that a rising tide of drunkenness was sweeping over Canterbury while the rest of New Zealand gently sobered up. Canterbury's ratio of convictions for drunkenness per head of population rose from 1 : 150 in 1867 to 1 : 91 in 1870 and 1 : 49 in 1874, thus tripling itself within seven years. These ratios may be compared first with the astounding figure of 1 : 8 in Auckland in 1847,[2] and then with the New Zealand ratio of 1 : 42 in 1867 falling to 1 : 55 in 1870 and remaining at this level in 1874. By 1874, therefore Canterbury had slipped from her position of relative sobriety in 1867 and had emerged in a worse position than the Colony overall, although her number of convictions for drunkenness as a proportion of total convictions was still lower than New Zealand's proportion by a margin of 8%. But no doubt the different provincial police forces applied the law more or less rigorously, just as different magistrates interpreted their functions as they thought fit. Perhaps measuring Canterbury's increasing drunkenness from the rising rate of convictions for drunkenness per head of population may be little more than a tribute to increasing efficiency on the part of the Police Force, this efficiency itself perhaps a response to greater social awareness that drunkenness was an evil which should be more firmly dealt with by the law.

But contemporary opinion bears out the impersonal

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1. Ibid., Table 62.
2. K. Sinclair, A History of New Zealand, 102-3.

impressions evoked by a statistical table. Lady Barker's observations that beer was "creeping up to the stations" to be "served out at shearing time and so on", where tea had formerly been the rule, may have been more significant than she realized.[1] For by 1870 the "mighty dragon of intemperance" had replaced prostitution as Canterbury's paramount social problem, and evidence of this was not difficult to see. In Waimate, where the hotel doors were publicly open on Sunday, drunken men rolled about in the streets in front of the church doors while more sober-minded people were going into church.[2] The call of the bottle was a strong one; two men, summoned to the Christchurch Magistrate's Court one morning to answer to charges of being drunk and incapable, ignored the summons and went drinking instead. In the afternoon they were arrested for again being drunk and incapable.[3] Almost every sitting of the Magistrate's Court had to deal with at least one case of drunkenness.

Drink might lead to insanity[4] or it might have more immediately fatal consequences. One rugged fellow, a bushman by occupation, got drunk, involved himself in a fight with three other men, and died of stab wounds.[5] Drunken men fell from their horses and fractured their skulls or staggered into the Avon and drowned.[6] The

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1. Lady Barker, Amusements, 21.
2. TH 22 Oct 1870.
3. LT 2 Mar 1870.
4. See above, p.57.
5. Inquest Reports, 1870.
6. Ibid., 1870-71.

inquest report on one forty-five year old labourer revealed that the man had died from excessive drinking after managing to consume almost a pannikin full of brandy.[1] Shepherds from the back country hit the town at the end of the year and blew their year's wages - sums of £40-£60 - in a fortnight, returning to their stations "shaky with drink."[2] It was not an evil confined to the men either. Out of 650 persons convicted for drunkenness in Christchurch in 1874, fifty-seven were females; and out of 218 in Timaru in the same year six were females.[3]

Conditions and circumstances help to explain the prevalance of the problem. Back country isolation and melancholy often induced men to consume abnormally large quantities of alcohol. In Christchurch ample drinking opportunity was afforded by at least forty-four public houses,[4] some so close together as to provoke unnecessary competition. It was one of the unsubstantiated theories of the Temperance Society that this competition often led to the use of improper measures to gain enough custom to make a profit.[5] Open all day and till 11 p.m. at night, and often all day Sunday, these public houses attracted an unusually large and varied clientele by virtue of their roles as community centres. They served as electioneers' rendez-vous and as auctioneers' saleyards. Bargain sales,

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1. Ibid., 1874. A pannikin was the common term for a small billy.
2. Jones, 52.
3. Statistics, 1874, p.210.
4. Forty-four is the figure given in the annual report of the Temperance Society. LT 13 Dec 1870. A correspondent believed there were over fifty. LT 22 Feb 1870.
5. LT 13 Dec 1870.

The Clarendon Hotel, 1869, on the occasion of Prince Alfred's visit; a large and socially important building.

sheep and stock sales, and meetings of all kinds took place in the hotels; the location of the fire-bell and the Fire Brigade's hand-engine at the White Hart Hotel further illustrates their extended functions.

There was no shortage of liquor. Copious quantities of beer flowed forth from Canterbury's ten breweries,[1] although the quality is more doubtful; at least one consumer argued forcibly that he would rather have "beer for 6d. than poison for 3d."[2] Large quantities were imported, particularly of spirits,[3] and New Zealand malt whisky, gin and spirits of wine were produced by the New Zealand Distillery at Dunedin. New Zealand whisky was advertised by Bishop's Ltd., Christchurch, at 16/- per gallon. Another source of supply was provided by a number of illicit stills brewing up yet more potent beverages. After one such still had been seized from the cutter Zealandia, operating in the bays of Lyttelton harbour, three men were fined the sum of £150 each. The still must have been a profitable one, as one of the men was able to pay his fine on the spot.[4]

This "mighty foe", the "demon drink", furnished many of the clergy with serious matter for a sermon and many a correspondent material for a tirade to his newspaper. Newspapers also carried lengthy editorials on the subject,

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1. 418,032 gallons were produced 1870-71. Census, 1871, Table 28.
2. Press 24 Feb 1870. The quality could be related to the incidence of drunkenness.
3. The only figures available are those derived from customs duties on imports. Approximate quanities for 1870 were spirits 60,000 gals., wine 25,000 gals., ale and beer 30,000 gals. See Statistics, 1870, Table 37.
4. LT 2, 5, 28 Sep 1870.

as well as reports of speeches by eminent men such as Rev. Dr. Temple of the U.K. Alliance[1] or W. Fox, Premier of the Colony, himself an ardent propagandist of the teetotal viewpoint.[2] But the general public was either uninterested or unworried by the problem, despite the efforts of various groups to do something constructive to curb the evil. A temperance committee had been appointed by a public meeting in 1869, "to consider what amendments of the existing liquor laws would be practicable and efficient and what measures of a social kind would be best adapted to discourage drinking habits".[3] The committee's recommendations, presented in February 1870 to a thin attendance, contained few ideas of any value except that of a permissive bill; this would enable two-thirds of the ratepayers of a particular area to secure a prohibition licence for that area if they wished. Nothing was achieved by the report except the constitution of a permanent Temperance Society.[4] There was also a Total Abstinence Society of nine years standing, valiantly holding monthly meetings at which addresses were given and temperance songs sung but often in half-empty halls with children making up much of the audience. The once active Band of Hope had virtually given up the battle against overwhelming odds.

The notions of reformers, beyond stressing the evils of drunkenness, were vague. Besides the idea of a permissive bill, suggestions centred round the encouraging of education

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1. LT 26 Jan 1870.
2. LT 26 Mar, 14 May 1870.
3. LT 15 Feb 1870.
4. Ibid.

and the development of "innocent" recreation; it was considered that men drank from idleness or for want of better use of their time. More concrete proposals were that the public houses should close at 9 p.m.[1], that landlords should be held responsible for the behaviour of their customers,[2] that there should be an "anti-shouting" campaign,[3] or even that clergymen should advocate horticulture for its beneficial influence on the mind.[4] But most of these suggestions were ineffectual moralizings. Drinking continued unabated; for some the well-earned epilogue to a hard day's labour, for others a melancholic escape from harsh realities.

Prostitution, commonly referred to as "the social evil" in 1867, was no longer such a focal point of public attention. In 1867, when the police knew of twenty-three brothels in Christchurch,[5] a newspaper correspondent had written:

> ...after seventeen years sojourn in the neighbouring colonies of Australia and Tasmania... in no town, even on the rowdiest new rush, have I witnessed more open and disgusting scenes than in this city of Christchurch.[6]

The situation then had aroused considerable discussion and at least one large public meeting, but by 1870 prostitution was not considered nearly as important an issue as temperance. The evil had continued to exist and there

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1. LT 22 Feb 1870.
2. Ibid.
3. Press 3 Feb 1870.
4. LT 24 Feb 1870.
5. May, 303.
6. LT 30 Nov 1867.

were continual cases of women appearing in court for keeping disorderly brothels or soliciting in the streets, but the public had apparently lost interest.

It might be concluded that such prostitution indicated either the presence of a "low" element in the population, or a distinct imbalance of the sexes, or both. A "low" element cannot be isolated with any degree of certainty or precision; for a twenty year old settlement the standard of living was better than many expected and wages for servant girls were high, although 1867 was a bad year for depression and unemployment. The imbalance of the sexes was a problem. Despite the fact that as many as 40% of Canterbury's population in 1851 were females,[1] and despite increased numbers of free passages for single women, in 1870 there were approximately three adult males in Canterbury for every two adult females.[2] Canterbury was more happily endowed in this respect than New Zealand at large, where 64% of the adult population was male, and was in a much more balanced position than Westland, where there were three adult males to one adult female, males making up 75% of the adult population.[3] But Canterbury's marriage-minded men were often hard put to it to find a partner, and this predicament was reflected both in the shortage of young, unmarried girls girls at balls, and in the frequency with which the service contract suffered at the expense of the marriage contract.

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1. Hight and Straubel, I : 246.
2. Adult here means aged fifteen years and above. Canterbury's adult population divided 59% male, 41% female. Census, 1871, Table 1.
3. Ibid. Otago's adult population divided 67% male, 33% female. Ibid.

The women of the community played a vital but essentially background role. Theirs was often a hard, elemental, unsophisticated life in which the men carved out their destinies and the women followed if they were wanted and if they could manage the tough conditions. Most were kept more than occupied making and keeping a home. Few enjoyed the privileged status of one such as Lady Barker, and she too was conscious that her presence in a company of men was often under sufferance.

But a feeling persisted in many quarters that the traditional English decencies should be observed. Social attitudes in Canterbury were not exactly those of the gold-field community. Even among groups of rough socially isolated men the intrusion of a "lady" would evoke considerable respect. Lady Barker relates how a number of men forbore their usual "nips" of spirits for tea and coffee in deference to her unexpected arrival at an inn at Timaru. In answer to the landlord's astonishment a "stalwart drover" had justified their course: "the smell of speerits mightn't be agreeable to the lady." No smoking, no songs, solemn silence and good behaviour were the key-notes of the atmosphere after her entrance, and this continued even after she had vanished behind the "thin wooden partition" which formed her bed-room.[1]

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1. Lady Barker, Amusements, 103-4.

(iv) Social Life: Entertainments and Sports.

Life was not all hard work, even for the women. Balls were popular high points in the social life of the time and their relative frequency in Christchurch was a measure of the civilization aspired to there, if nowhere else. In the middle of the January holiday period in 1870 came the visit of the Flying Squadron from Britain. Interest ran high for relations between the Colony and the Mother country were at a crucial stage.[1] A holiday was proclaimed, and in the evening not one, but three balls were held.[2] There were two on the night of the twentieth anniversary of the province[3] and regularly every Monday night one took place in the newly-converted Canterbury Music Hall. Hard-working citizens relaxing at these weekly balls cavorted to the strains of a fourteen member quadrille band, imbibed refreshments "of all kinds", and thoroughly enjoyed themselves.[4]

Lady Barker lamented in January 1866:

> The town [Christchurch] has no place of public amusement except a small theatre, to which it is much too hot to go. The last three weeks have been the gay ones of the whole year; the races have been going on for three days, and there have been a few balls, but as a general rule, the society may be said to be extremely stagnant.[5]

She went on to deplore the absence of any private society,

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1. Granville had withdrawn the Imperial troops from New Zealand, and a strong body of opinion in England was arguing that the Empire should be abandoned.
2. LT 20 Jan 1870.
3. LT 16 Dec 1870.
4. LT 31 Jan 1870.
5. Lady Barker, Life, 36.

such as dinner-parties. But Lady Barker moved in a restricted circle. It is doubtful if her picture holds true in 1866, certainly it does not for 1870. Laurence Kennaway had a very different view of things. In 1874 he noted:

> There is much more going on in the city /Christchurch/ at all times than in an English town of the same size; and of an afternoon, English-built carriages, well-horsed and well-appointed, drive in from a circle of ten miles beyond.[1]

Kennaway, a back-country farmer whose home was at Alford Station, had journeyed a good many more than ten miles to get to the city. He believed that a man from the country must observe the city's social conventions, and proceeded to a game of croquet! But many of the high country or outback farmers felt they could ill afford any journey to the city unless it was of the utmost necessity; thus they often lived lonely and barren existences socially, broken occasionally by unexpected visits from neighbouring farmers or wandering swaggers. Such was the plight of Edgar Jones, a farmer in the Amuri, 100 miles north of Christchurch.[2] His provisions, like those of his neighbours, went up to his station once a year, as backloading for the wool clip.[3]

But the immediate outskirts of the city supported a good many socially inclined farmers. It was a popular custom to celebrate the gathering in of the harvest with a "Harvest

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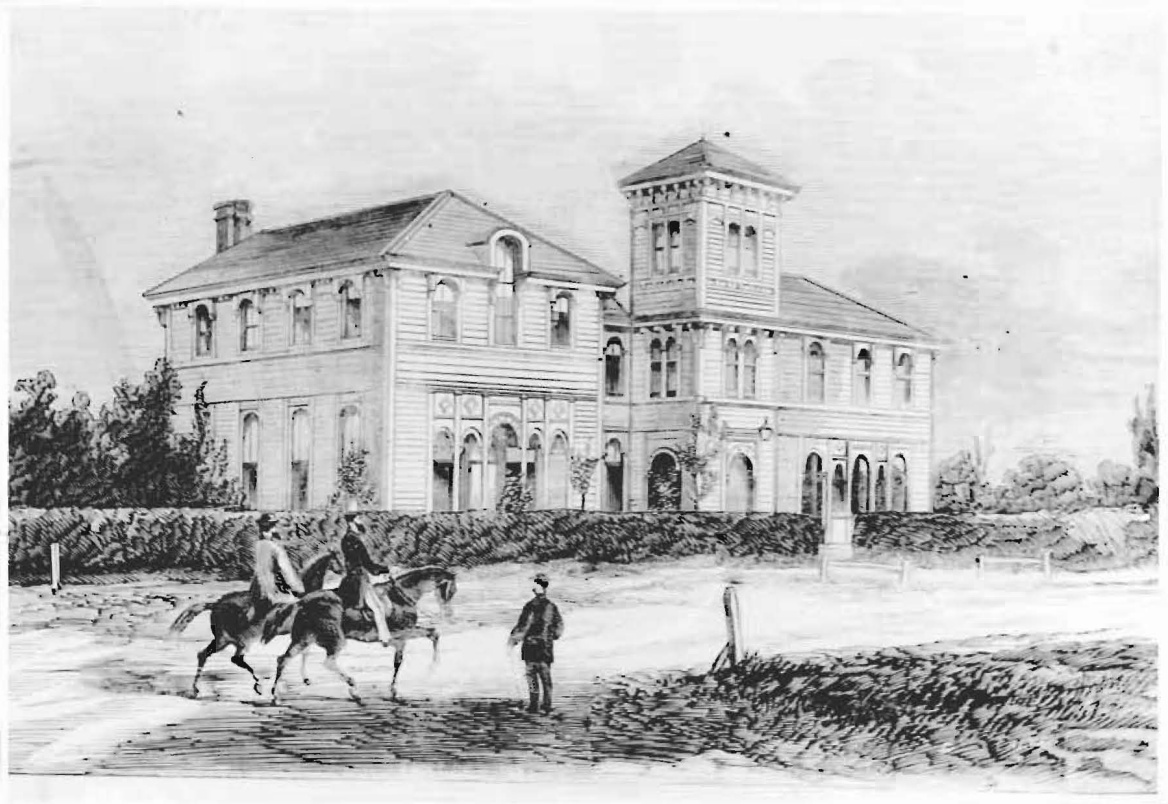
1. Kennaway, 225.
2. Amuri was in the Province of Nelson, but Jones regarded himself a Canterbury man, and used Christchurch as his base.
3. Jones, 52.



The Christchurch Club in 1868.

Home Dinner", when sixty or seventy men would sit down to an old-English style feast in a hotel, following their feasting with "loyal and patriotic toasts" and singing.[1] Most of the ploughing matches gave way to dinner in the evening, and on the occasion of the A. & P. Association's annual exhibition in November 1870 a monster dinner was held in the Clarendon.[2] But not everything was so agriculturally orientated. A dinner was held after a rifle match between two volunteer companies,[3] the Canterbury Lodge held a banquet to celebrate the festival of St. John the Baptist[4], a complimentary dinner was put on for Moorhouse on his departure for Wellington,[5] and Duncan, the ex-mayor, staged a dinner for 100 of his friends.[6] Among Christchurch's social amenities could be numbered a Club, described as being "just like a good English dwelling-house or club, with respectable servants, table d'hote, and so on";[7] a Tea Gardens attached to the Papanui Hotel;[8] and a Coffee House, although the owner of this venture was trying to dispose of it.[9]

The large number of fairs and ploughing matches did emphasize the social and economic significance of the farmer. At one stage four fairs were held within three

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1. Press 21 Mar 1870.
2. LT 10 Nov 1870.
3. LT 26 Oct 1870.
4. Press 25 Jun 1870.
5. LT 2 Dec 1870. Moorhouse was about to take up his duties as Chief Registrar of Titles under the Land Transfer Act.
6. LT 5 Oct 1870.
7. Lyttelton, 18.
8. LT 5 Feb 1870.
9. LT 26 Mar 1870.

days; at Rangiora, Lincoln, Courtenay and Kaiapoi.[1] At least nine ploughing matches, all well supported, took place in 1870, ranging in locality from Hororata to Ellesmere, where there were a record forty-seven entries.[2] Keenly contested agricultural shows further testified to the rivalry amongst the farmers.[3] For the Christchurch show in 1870 there were 506 entries in a great variety of sections; this was an increase of over 100 on the number of entries in 1869.[4] Besides the A. & P. shows in Christchurch, Timaru and Akaroa, and the trials of agricultural implements before the Christchurch Show, there was a Horse Show in Latimer Square,[5] a Dog Exhibition, the first ever held in the province,[6] a Poultry Show,[7] and several Flower Shows.[8] The landlord of the Prince of Wales Hotel even arranged a Pigeon Match.[9]

There was no lack of entertainment for those leisured enough to be in search of pure diversion. The return to Christchurch in January 1870 of Bird, Blow, and Wills' Great American Circus[10] was followed in February by the appearance of a troupe of performing dogs and monkeys, not to mention an acrobat, at Barlow's Cynodrome.[11] Over the New Year holiday period crowds flocked to see a team of

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1. LT 16, 17 Mar 1870.
2. LT 16 Aug 1870.
3. See The Province of Canterbury, 25.
4. LT 7 Nov 1870.
5. LT 30 Oct 1870.
6. LT 11 Nov 1870.
7. LT 8 Aug 1870.
8. LT 27 Jan, 30 Nov 1870.
9. Press 30 Aug 1870.
10. LT 15 Jan 1870.
11. LT 18 Feb 1870.

glassblowers in action, with the added attraction of Mr. Woodruffe and his steam engine.[1] A waxworks exhibition,[2] a series of Punch and Judy entertainments,[3] and levées by Giant Chang[4] were among other features during the year. There always seemed to be some novelty in the offing. Dr. Carr's "mesmeric seances and phrenological demonstrations" drew large and appreciative audiences after a spate of preceding publicity;[5] his attraction even managed to divert a good section of the crowd from the serious business of the enjoying the Superintendency elections.[6] Mr. Heller, another solo performer, posted as a "somatic conjuror, a brilliant pianist, and a humorous talkist", was written up as "unquestionably" the best conjuror Canterbury patrons had had the fortune to be able to see.[7] Considering the musical and cultural programmes[8] as well as this variety of entertainment, it could hardly be maintained that Christchurch was socially barren.

Visits from colonial and overseas dignitaries provided great excitement and an excuse for holiday-making and celebrations. Lord Lyttelton, accompanied by his son and H.S. Selfe,[9] had arrived in early 1868, and Governor Sir George Bowen in early 1869, but festivities really reached a climax on the visit of H.R.H. Prince Alfred, Duke of

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1. LT 13 Jan 1870.
2. LT 16 Jul 1870.
3. Press 19 Jul 1870.
4. LT 6 Dec 1870.
5. LT 26 Apr 1870.
6. LT 3 May 1870.
7. LT 6 Sep 1870.
8. See below, Chap. 4, pp.126-33.
9. Member of the Canterbury Association; for a long time Canterbury's Immigration Agent in England.

Edinburgh, in April 1869.[1] Work ceased for three whole days, to be replaced by a round of processions, feasts, illuminations, races and balls. Indeed the elections for Superintendent were sufficient occasion for frivolity, if somewhat less formal, to break out. Cabs, buses, and vehicles of all kinds, decked out in the distinguishing colours of their candidate, mingled animatedly with the crowd, some of whom

> ...flung projectiles of a multifarious and frequently not pleasant character, and the aim being generally good, not a little mirth and additional excitement were caused. Among the more generally used materials were flour in small bladders, which exploded on coming into contact with any object, oranges, eggs, and in some instances, mud.[2]

Sport of this kind was waxed warmly for an hour or so, until the restless crowd moved to Barnard's Repository to see what Dr. Carr was offering in the way of entertainment.

Race meetings, cricket matches and regattas, often accompanied by "shore sports", were the most popular sporting pastimes. "They have the same amusements [as in England] as races and theatres", Lyttelton had observed.[3] Indeed the Canterbury Jockey Club had been founded as early as 1854, to be followed in 1860 by the Timaru Jockey Club, who obtained their own grounds at Washdyke two years later.[4] Between New Year and Queen's Birthday 1870 there were at least eight race meetings in various parts of the province, one of these being the three day New Zealand

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1. His visit had been scheduled for the year before but was postponed after an assassination attempt in Sydney.
2. LT 3 May 1870.
3. Lyttelton, 22.
4. O.A. Gillespie, South Canterbury, 426.

Metropolitan Meeting. These well-patronized meetings attracted a good number of entries; there were forty horses in training for the New Zealand Metropolitan Meeting run in Christchurch in November 1870, this being Christchurch's second Metropolitan meeting for the year and the first time the Metropolitan meeting had been held in November.[1] Trotting was as yet unorganized, but certain groups of keen men had been arranging informal trotting matches on country roads for some years.[2]

Cricket had been played from as early as 1851, and in 1859 Avonside had met Albion in the first club match.[3] In South Canterbury cricket was the "second organized sport", the Timaru Cricket Club being formed in 1862 and the Arowhenua Club a year later; weekend matches were then played between these two clubs.[4] By 1870 Avonside and Albion had disappeared from the Christchurch cricketing scene, their places being taken by the United Canterbury Cricket Club and the Christchurch Cricket Club. The latter was formed in September 1870 to "promote interest" in the game, interest which was already considerable to judge by the numbers attending this new club's inaugural meeting at White's Commercial Hotel.[5] But the affiliations of most players were not so much to clubs as to their trades or occupations. The Lyttelton Times put forward a team, often referred to as a club, which met an opposition team

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1. LT 31 Oct, 30 Nov 1870.
2. The first of these apparently took place in 1863. Gillespie, 428.
3. T.W. Reese, New Zealand Cricket 1841-1914, pp.20,28.
4. Gillespie, 430.
5. LT 22 Sep 1870.

from the Press regularly;[1] other teams were arranged informally almost on the spur of the moment. Married would play single,[2] painters would play plasterers, the painters and plasterers then combining to face a challenge from the carpenters and joiners;[3] old chums played new chums, colonists played Englishmen, and eleven members of the Christchurch Challenge Club somehow played twenty-two members of the Christchurch Fire Brigade Club.[4] The United Canterbury Cricket Club might divide into two teams for a match or the Fire Brigade might organize themselves into married v. single. Most games were arranged on these fluid lines, but there was an annual fixture between Canterbury and Otago clubs - in December 1869 Otago had defeated Canterbury in the seventh inter-provincial match, played at Dunedin.[5]

Matches were played on the Hagley Park Grounds, Cranmer Square, or Latimer Square. But this last area was becoming increasingly unsuitable for sport; it was being cut up by vehicles using it as a public road and crossing it in all directions. Apparently the many deep worn tracks across the Square "rendered the fielding in slips very difficult."[6] Most games were spread over two Saturday afternoons, but some were played in the evenings during the week, beginning at six o'clock after the day's

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1. LT 4 Feb 1870.
2. LT 24 Jan 1870.
3. LT 24 Feb 1870.
4. LT 23 Feb 1870.
5. LT 10 Dec 1869.
6. LT 7 Feb 1870.

toil and continuing every night until the match was played out.[1] The game was played for the game's sake and the Englishman's love of cricket persisted, even to outlying districts such as Rangiora, Kaiapoi or Flaxton.

Rowing was another popular and flourishing sport; the Canterbury Rowing Club, established in 1861, was the oldest in New Zealand.[2] When the boating season opened in September 1870, an event noted as a "conspicuous success", six clubs vied for supremacy on the Avon, to the "spirited strains" of the Cavalry Band.[3] These six clubs comprised three from Christchurch - the Avon Rowing Club, the Union Rowing Club and the Canterbury Rowing Club - and those of Lyttelton, Kaiapoi and Heathcote. Early in the year a team of boatmen visited Wellington and laid the ground for future inter-provincial contests,[4] and during the year a series of regattas were held at Akaroa, Kaiapoi, Lyttelton and Christchurch, this last despite the confining narrowness of the Avon. These regattas, accompanied as they were by organized "shore sports", drew large crowds, particularly if the occasion was a holiday. Great interest and excitement was also aroused by a number of whaleboat races which took place in Lyttelton Harbour on a Saturday afternoon or a summer evening, generally between the crews from two two ships in port.[5] A good deal of this interest was not so much on the boats or their oarsmen as on the money at

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1. LT 23 Feb 1870.
2. Cyclopaedia, 3 : 214.
3. LT 26 Sep 1870.
4. LT 1 Feb 1870.
5. LT 15 Jan, 17 Oct 1870.

stake; all such races were for a cash prize. Sometimes as much as £25 was put up by each side, and numerous side bets added to spectator excitement.

The gambling instinct was also a force in the growth of a nascent interest in athletics. Despite the popularity of running races or informal "sports" at regattas or ploughing matches, a project for a Canterbury Athletic Association had fallen through, causing some disappointment;[1] indeed, when the South Canterbury Amateur Athletic Club was formed in 1871 this was the first of its kind in New Zealand.[2] In the absence of such an association athletic interest focused on the anniversary day "sports" in Latimer Square (despite the ruts), the Christ's College Sports, apparently an eagerly anticipated annual fixture, or the "pedestrian" feats of a celebrated Australian visitor referred to as "young Austin". Pedestrianism was a novelty in Canterbury and a large crowd turned out on Monday afternoon at the Plough Inn grounds at Riccarton to watch this runner defeat his trainer in a ten mile race, Austin giving his trainer a 1,000 yard start. Austin had hoped to cover the ten miles in a hour but failed in this by six minutes or so; two days before, at the Papanui Hotel for a preliminary appearance before the big race, he had run four miles in twenty-eight minutes.[3] The ten mile race was only part of the afternoon's entertainment. It was followed by a handicap trotting race on the road, a 300

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1. Press 14 Feb 1870.
2. Gillespie, 433.
3. LT 20 Sep 1870.

A game of croquet in progress in Dr. Barker's garden. His house has an air of civilization and prosperity about it. This photograph also illustrates the fashions of the time, even for playing croquet.

yards hurdle race and various other "sports of a minor character".[1] Not long afterwards Austin himself staked £5 that a Rangiora man, Pentecost, who was well thought of as a runner, could not cover the mile in five minutes. The striving Pentecost failed miserably by twenty-one seconds.[2] Interest in such contests grew rapidly. After two local residents had raced over 200 yards at Akaroa for £5 a side the spectators caught the urge of rivalry or gambling or both and other matches were forthwith arranged, the prizes hastily subscribed on the ground provoking keen competition.[3] Less than three weeks after Austin's ten mile run another contest was staged at the Plough Inn grounds, this time between Austin and Porter, a local, over 2,000 yards, Austin giving Porter 100 yards start and the stakes being £45.[4] Austin was again victorious and pedestrianism could be said to have taken a firm hold on the province. For those more inclined to calisthenics than athletics Mr. Grindley had recently fitted out a gymnasium in Manchester Street with a complete apparatus on German principles.[5]

There is no evidence of any hockey, tennis, golf or even organized swimming. Croquet was a popular sociable pastime and football and shooting were the only other sports. There was a football club in South Canterbury[6] and another

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1. LT 19 Sep 1870.
2. LT 24 Sep 1870.
3. LT 5 Oct 1870.
4. LT 11 Oct 1870.
5. Press 14 Feb 1870.
6. Gillespie, 430.

in Christchurch,[1] but the sport seems to have been regarded "primarily as a means of keeping cricketers fit during the winter months".[2] Rules were a non-descript mixture of Association and Victorian[3] (Christ's College apparently had a code all of its own),[4] there was little competition, and the sport languished sadly until the adoption of Rugby Union rules in 1875.[5] Shooting contests were closely connected with the Volunteer Movement and helped keep alive its flagging spirit. Volunteering had been particularly popular in the two or three years before 1870, in view of the Maori threat and the withdrawal of the English troops, but by 1870 interest was on the decline, partly because the General Government had reduced its financial aid to such movements.[6] The decline of interest had by no means broken up the movement, however. A church parade of Volunteers from Christchurch, Lyttelton and Heathcote numbered upwards of 300;[7] the three-day annual encampment, the fourth in the history of the movement, was reasonably successful;[8] monthly parades and inspections continued to be held; and the Christchurch Volunteers reported a "gratifying increase of recruits".[9] Shooting matches often took place between

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1. Press 25 Apr 1870.
2. Gillespie, 430.
3. A.C. Swan, History of New Zealand Rugby Football 1870-1945, p.39.
4. W.G. Garrard, Canterbury Rugby Football Union Jubilee 1879-1929, p.11.
5. Ibid.
6. Press 16 Sep 1870; LT 27 Apr 1870; SPA 1871, p.153.
7. LT 10 Oct 1870.
8. LT 27 Apr 1870.
9. LT 7 Oct 1870.

the corps of the Volunteers, there being at stake various cups presented by past mayors of Christchurch.[1] Officers and subordinates arranged their own private matches, and the Canterbury Rifle Association staged meetings and prize-firing.[2] There were even inter-provincial prize-firing contests, 1870's taking place in Dunedin.[3] Fixtures such as this were one way of breaking down the insularity between the various provinces.

The entertainments and sports of the Canterbury settlers in 1870 reflected three things: the English origin of most of the colonists; the fundamental importance of the farmers and their awareness of this in their almost constant preoccupation, even socially, with agricultural and pastoral matters; and the fact that for some people in some parts of the province the essential "pioneer" days were over. Even in the earliest days of settlement the colonists could not escape a civilized devotion to ideas of sport, recreation and "things of the mind" but matters such as housing and food had first call on time and energy. By 1870, however, the communities in the settlement areas were sufficiently established, their elementary needs catered for by a diversly occupied populace, to support a variety of amusements and a number of traditional English sports; it was to be expected that it would not be long before races, cricket and rowing took firm hold in the

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1. LT 28, 29 Sep 1870.
2. LT 26 Jan 1870.
3. LT 25 Feb 1870.

province. But perhaps the most significant expression of the community's development was the attention now devoted to matters of religion and education, matters of such prime concern to those who had inspired the founding of Canterbury twenty years earlier.

CHAPTER III

RELIGION, THE CHURCHES, AND THE MORAL CLIMATE.

> So we got our church; and it was astonishing to mark the social bettering and improvement which from that time spread around the district. The settlers, meeting regularly at the church door, became more sociable to each other: the work during the week seemed lighter, and the rest at the week's end quieter; and Saturday night became more like Saturday night, because Sunday morning was more like Sunday morning. It is an era in new-world life, when Sunday likens to the Sunday of the fatherland.
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> - L.J. Kennaway, Crusts, 27.

By the Census of 1871, 53% of Canterbury's population classed themselves as members of the Church of England, 18% as Presbyterians, 11% as Wesleyan Methodists, and 9% as Roman Catholics. Small groups of Baptists, Congregational Independents, Primitive Methodists, Lutherans and Hebrews filled out the religious structure of the province.[1] The ideal of an exclusively Church of England community, an ideal dear to the hearts of some closely associated with the founding of the settlement, had clearly not survived the acid test of practice. Even as early as 1851 only 72% of the population had classed themselves as Church of England,[2] although three years later the figure had

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1. Census, 1871, Table 16.
2. Census, 1851, quoted in Hight and Straubel, 1 : 248.

risen to 83%.[1] Within seven months of the arrival of the first colonists Godley had realistically "ended the exclusive privileges of the Church of England",[2] and after 1854 there was a steady falling off of Church of England predominance. In 1858 Church of England members of the population numbered 73%,[3] in 1861 67%[4] and by 1867 a mere 52%.[5] The Church of England figure of 53% in 1871 was not even the highest proportion of Church of England members in any one province; Marlborough claimed 54% as Church of England and Hawkes Bay was close behind Canterbury with 52%.[6]

But Marlborough, Canterbury and Hawkes Bay were distinctly more Church of England, numerically, than New Zealand as a whole, where only 40% of the population was Church of England.[7] In relation to New Zealand, in 1871, Canterbury was high in Anglicans and Wesleyan Methodists, low in Presbyterians and Roman Catholics.[8] Furthermore Canterbury, relative to the amorphous mixture of denominations in the other provinces, was markedly Anglican, notably more Anglican for example, than Otago was Presbyterian. If, in Canterbury, the Anglicans numbered little over half the total population they were almost three times as numerous as their nearest rivals the Presbyterians, whose proportion

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1. Census, 1854, quoted in Hight and Straubel, 1 : 218 (n.).
2. S. Parr, Canterbury Pilgrimage, 16.
3. Statistics, 1858, Table 5.
4. Ibid., 1861, 1 : Table 14.
5. Ibid., 1867, 1 : Table 16.
6. Census, 1871, Table 16.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.

stood at 18%. In Otago the Presbyterian majority not only comprised less than half the total population - the figure was 46% - but amounted to less than twice the proportion of their nearest rivals, the Anglicans, whose proportion stood at 24%.[1] Canterbury, too, did bear evidence of being the most Anglican of all the provinces, despite the failure of the Cathedral to emerge from its apparently futile foundations. Lyttelton, noticing the Church of England aspect of the settlement, observed:

> In Canterbury English churchmen are in a position more nearly resembling what they were used to at home, than in any other colony.[2]

Most, but by no means all, of the leaders of the community were staunch supporters of the Church of England, as had been the founders of the Canterbury Association. Lay members of the Diocesan Synod, 1870, included Superintendent Rolleston, three members of the Legislative Council,[3] two members of the Provincial Council,[4] and several past or future members of the Provincial Council. Furthermore the Church of England's own leaders, such as Bishop H.J.C. Harper, Primate of New Zealand from 1869, or the Venerable Archdeacon W.C. Harris, Headmaster of Christ's College 1866-73, or Dean H. Jacobs, convener of the Popular Entertainments Committee, wielded immense influence in the everyday life of the community. This

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1. Ibid.
2. Lyttelton, 20.
3. Hon. J.B.A. Acland, Hon. G.L. Lee, Hon.E. Gray. Proceedings of Synod, 1870.
4. W. Kennaway, R.H. Rhodes. Ibid.

was only to be expected from the role of the Established Church in England.

The question of what may reservedly be termed Church-State relations was difficult but vital. From the very beginning there had been little talk of an Established Church, especially from those on the Canterbury side of the 12,000 mile gulf. In 1853, J.E. FitzGerald, newly-elected Superintendent, refuted any ideas of "a policy in which religious and civil authority were scarcely inseparable",[1] and the settlers' acquiescence in his principles signified their attachment to the idea of a purely secular state, rather than one bolstered up by an Established Church. Perhaps it was true, as Trollope asserted, that "if there be one feeling more repugnant than any other to the genuine British colonist, it is that of Church ascendancy".[2] In nineteenth century England it was difficult "to separate what was religious and what was secular";[3] this was largely due to a mental climate orientated round an Established Church. With this noticeably lacking in Canterbury the settlers rapidly embraced secular conceptions of government and of social institutions, a process which was precipitated by the difficulties experienced by the Church in the early years of the settlement.[4] It was this secular atmosphere, exacerbating already limiting financial problems which underlay the difficulties of the Church of England in trying to run such social

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1. Hight and Straubel, 1 : 217.
2. Trollope, 85.
3. G. Kitson Clark, The Making of Victorian England, 38.
4. See Hight and Straubel, 1 : 227.

institutions as an Orphan Asylum or a House of Refuge. It was most clearly in evidence in the strife over provisions for education: "the history of education in the first twenty-five years of Canterbury," it has been aptly concluded, "is the story of the growth of educational secularism."[1] Education served as the first front for conflicting ideas about the roles of Church and State and secularism emerged triumphant. In origins this wave of secular feeling may well have been associated with growing doubts among churchmen in England concerning the benefits of Establishment,[2] and these doubts themselves were nourished by the sudden advances of modern thought into religion's ancient preserves. Symbolic of new disturbing attitudes, and an incentive to further revisions of thought, was Charles Darwin's Origin of Species, published in England in 1859. Copies of the Origin soon arrived in the Colony and Samuel Butler, who became one of Darwin's many enthusiastic admirers, wrote a highly-regarded philosophical dialogue on the new work. This dialogue was printed in the Press, Christchurch, in December 1862 and Darwin, Butler and their writings aroused considerable discussion and controversy;[3] in 1873 the Rev. Charles Fraser, one of the leaders of the Presbyterians, was lecturing on Darwinism in Christchurch, attempting to reconcile Darwinism and religion.[4]

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1. Parr, 76.
2. See Hight and Straubel, 1 : 218.
3. See H.F. Jones, Samuel Butler, A Memoir, 1 : 99-102; E.C. Richards, ed., Diary of E.R. Chudleigh, 125-6.
4. Canterbury Presbyterian, 1873-74, p.125.

The secular atmosphere was essentially a challenge to the various Churches' existing concepts about their role in the community, even to more general concepts about the role of religion. Leading churchmen of all denominations were aware that this challenge could only be met by the courageous moulding of policies to suit the needs and mental currents of the times. Here is Bishop Harper considering one aspect of his Church in 1870:

> No one can be more alive than I am to the need of greater elasticity in our Church services, and to the expediency of adapting them to the proved wants and circumstances of our people.[1]

A Presbyterian writer, more explicit about the nature of the problem being faced, commented:

> The changes which are taking place in society, by which many of those obligations which were formerly laid upon the Church, are now transferred to the body politic, call upon Christians to review their position and modify their line of action.[2]

Putting these ideas into practice Moderator Charles Fraser stood for progressive Presbyterian opinion when he supported the new government system of secular education. He contended that the denominational system had failed to overtake the educational wants of the community.[3] But the Churches by no means abandoned their claims over the education of the young in the face of this engulfing wave of secularism. It was generally felt that the education of the young was very closely bound up with their religious

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1. Proceedings of Synod, 1870, p.7.
2. Canterbury Presbyterian, 1873-74, p.26.
3. Ibid. and pp.59-62.

training, and the increasingly secular trend of daily education provoked the Churches to respond with an increasing emphasis on Sunday schools. There was a Canterbury Sunday School Union, apparently interdenominational, with 225 teachers and over 1,700 children connected to it.[1] A Church of England Sunday School Institute was formed in August 1870,[2] Bishop Harper insisting at the Anglican Synod in September that "the importance of systematic Sunday School teaching and an association for this purpose of well-instructed teachers cannot be overrated."[3] Under the auspices of this Institute twelve lectures were given on subjects useful to Sunday School teachers.[4] An average of over 1,500 children attended an unknown number of Anglican Sunday Schools to be instructed by 181 teachers; this was rather more than the average of 854 children who attended the fourteen Anglican day schools to be taught by a mere twenty-nine teachers.[5] Three years after the founding of the Church of England Sunday School Institute the Presbyterian Synod appointed a "Sabbath School and Religious Education Committee" under the same need for systematic action. The synod specifically justified their necessity as a result of the Provincial Government's action in excluding religious education from the schools.[6]

Cries of "Christian unity" and other early vestiges

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1. LT 11 Mar 1870.
2. LT 13 Aug 1870.
3. Proceedings of Synod, 1870, p.9.
4. LT 7 Oct 1870.
5. Figures for year ending Easter 1871. Proceedings of Synod, 1871, Table 13.
6. Canterbury Presbyterian, 1873-74, p.135.

of ecumenical feeling, were, in part, another response to the problems seen to be facing all the Churches. "Christian unity" was a phrase which appealed to the imagination of some churchmen. Bishop Harper, addressing Synod at the opening of the session in September 1870, declared that he would welcome a renewed expression of the desire for Christian unity.[1] At the quarterly meeting of the Presbytery a month later the Rev. Charles Fraser echoed Bishop Harper's feelings when he moved the adoption of an overture on Christian union.[2] The laity were also interested. The Dean of Christchurch's address at Synod was hotly attacked by a correspondent in three learned column-long letters to the Lyttelton Times.[3] Another newspaper correspondent, claiming the prevalence of "spiritual destitution", clamoured for action, not words; he advocated that the various denominations should use each other's churches in the outlying districts and ended his letter in a plea for Christian unity.[4] In some scantily populated backblocks the church had in fact become a multi-denominational centre of worship. There was no church in the Mackenzie country till 1872 when one was built at Burke's Pass. At a public meeting convened in 1871 to discuss proposals for this church it was moved "that this place of worship be opened to members of the Church of England, the Presbyterians, and the Roman Catholics",[5] and the new building was opened

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1. Proceedings of Synod, 1870, p.8.
2. LT 13 Oct 1870.
3. LT 23, 27 Sep, 4 Oct 1870.
4. Press 26 Aug 1870.
5. M.H. Biggs, A Survey of the Social Development of Fairlie and the Mackenzie Country, 151.

in 1872 by the Rev. George Barclay, a Presbyterian, and the Rev. George Cooper, an Anglican. Dual control - the Roman Catholics seem to have fallen by the wayside - was to continue till 1918.

A similarly inspired "union" church was built at Fairlie and this kind of arrangement has been considered almost unique in the religious history of New Zealand.[1] There was certainly little conflict between the Churches, and little, if any, trace of the early religious exclusionism expressed in the semi-persecution of some Methodists on at least one of the early emigrant voyages. On the contrary, there was an active spirit of toleration and co-operation, a spirit exemplified at the opening of the Durham Street Methodist Church, when it was the Presbyterian Charles Fraser who preached to worshippers of all denominations.[2] At a meeting of the interdenominational Sunday School Union held in the Congregational Church, addresses were given by the Rev. J. Habens, the Congregational Minister, and the Rev. Thomas Buddle, a Methodist minister.[3] Many non-Catholics contributed generously to the funds for the building of Canterbury's first Catholic Church, opened in 1864, and at this time the Provincial Government was providing a £ for £ subsidy for all Church building, irrespective of denomination.[4] Exigencies of time and place meant that clergy of whatever denomination, were hospitably

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1. Ibid., 153.
2. New Zealand Methodist, 4 Jan 1890.
3. LT 11 Mar 1870.
4. J.J. Wilson, The Church in New Zealand, 1 : 72.

received on their travels; Father Chataigner, for example, often found it necessary to break his journey at Te Waimate, the homestead of the Studholmes, an eminently Church of England family.[1] The vicissitudes and problems of the Churches in this period did not allow of any enervating inter-denominational factionalism.

For the clergy of all denominations were labouring under great difficulties and hardships. The huge areas of ministration, the primitive nature of communications, and a general lack of sufficient finance combined to make the clergyman's task exceptionally arduous and testing, and high-minded idealism often withered in the heat of practical difficulties. The case of a Presbyterian minister who resigned in July 1870, highlights the nature of the clergyman's situation. The Rev. J. Campbell felt that he could not continue as minister of Lincoln and Prebbleton as the work was too much for him.[2] He had to officiate in each of five churches once a fortnight and was hampered in this by the distances and the state of the roads and the River Selwyn. He claimed that the district required division into two parishes. Furthermore his position involved a steady drain upon his private means; the liberality of his people, normally the source of his stipend, was being consumed by the building programme, and he asked the assistance of the Presbytery in recovering the balance of his stipend, which would have been a small enough sum by

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1. Ibid., 89.
2. LT 29 Jul 1870.

any account. This is certainly only one example, but the size of his parish and the number of his churches was by no means exceptional (Barclay's parish in 1865 covered 7,000 square miles)[1] and it is very probable that in essence his situation was commonplace. It signifies the problems of an understaffed Church in a young settlement at a time when a community's religious life was almost as important as its economic viability.

Despite such difficulties, the Churches were doing their best to combat any "spiritual destitution". All the denominations were vigorously expansionist at this time, creating new parishes and erecting new churches in the more populous and demanding areas. It has been said of the building of the Durham Street Methodist Church, opened in 1865:

> To resolve upon that great work in the thirteenth year of an episcopalian province was eminently creditable to the energy, faith, and foresight of the Church leaders of that day.[2]

It would seem that the great demands of the time were bringing out corresponding virtues in many men. Methodism, it was claimed, had progressed more rapidly and more firmly in Canterbury than anywhere else.[3] Between 1868-71, in the surge of a prosperous revival, four new Methodist circuits were established at Kaiapoi, Springston, St. Albans and Lyttelton, and in 1873 came the constitution of Canterbury District, formerly a small part of the extensive

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1. Biggs, 153.
2. New Zealand Methodist, 4 Jan 1890.
3. W. Morley, A History of Methodism in New Zealand, 409.

Southern District.[1] In 1869 alone five new Churches were opened up in the Canterbury Circuits,[2] and in 1870 there were at least seven Methodist ministers[3] diligently caring for their 5,000 or so Methodist souls.[4] Not least of their activities were the frequent week-night assemblies and mid-day prayer meetings.

The Presbyterians were similarly active. Largely through the work of the Canterbury Church Extension Society, an energetic body formed in 1862 and fortunate in possessing several shrewd business men, there were at least eight churches established by 1870, and at least eight clergymen to look after them.[5] It was the aim of the Rev. Charles Fraser, their earliest and leading minister, who had arrived in Canterbury in 1856, to realize John Knox's ideal of a church and a school for every parish. In 1871 the Canterbury Church Extension Society was reorganized to concentrate its efforts on the bringing out of more ministers, and in 1872 what had been constituted as the Canterbury Presbytery in 1864 was divided into the three new Presbyteries of Christchurch, Westland, and Timaru, under a Synod which first met the following year.[6] It was the recurring theme of expansion and reorganization, often involving decentralization. But there was a great deal to be done; there were yet many areas outside Christchurch with no Presbyterian

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1. New Zealand Methodist, 4 Jan 1890.
2. Christian Observer, 1870, no. 2.
3. SPA, 1871, pp.107-8.
4. Census, 1871, Table 15.
5. SPA, 1871, pp.107-8.
6. See J.R. Elder, The History of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand 1840-1940, 130.

minister or services.

The proportion of Roman Catholics in Canterbury was the lowest of any of the provinces. The figure of 9% in 1871 was somewhat lower than the country's average proportion of 14%, and outstandingly lower than Westland's 29%.[1] For organized Roman Catholicism had not extended into Canterbury until 1860, several years after the other major denominations had begun laying their foundations, despite the first mass in the South Island being celebrated at Akaroa as early as 1840.[2] Two enthusiastic Marist Fathers were despatched from Wellington (Canterbury formed part of the Wellington diocese in the early period) in 1860 and established a Catholic mission in Christchurch,[3] and by 1870 there were three Roman Catholic priests active in the province, several churches in existence and others under construction. There was also an extremely reputable school, noted for its remarkable discipline under Mr. O'Connor, and a convent founded by five sisters of the Institute of Notre Dame des Missions who arrived in Christchurch in 1867.[4] From the beginning there had been a considerable spirit behind the Catholic mission. The mission's first mass, held in the drawing room of the Royal Hotel soon after the arrival of the two fathers in 1860, had attracted a congregation of sixty, and within fourteen days of their arrival a dwelling had been erected at

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1. Census, 1871, Table 16. There were a large number of Irish diggers in Westland.
2. Wilson, 2 : 103.
3. Ibid., 1 : 70.
4. Ibid., 1 : 85.

Barbadoes Street, such haste occasioned primarily by the dire necessity of occupying the land granted by the Provincial Government within the specified time.[1] It was not long before courageous visits were made to the outlying areas particularly by Father Chataigner who visited Waimate's eleven-strong Catholic community biennially from 1865[2] and set off on a mission-founding journey to Timaru in 1869.[3] Services were held in the various districts north of Christchurch, such as Rangiora or Kowai, at least once a month, and occasionally in other outlying areas. The Roman Catholics were numerically small but an organized and effectual force.

Bishop Harper, arriving in Canterbury in 1856 (the same year as Rev. Charles Fraser) had provided the Anglican community with precisely the leadership and drive it had felt so conspicuously lacking in the first few years. In 1870 he was more concerned with devoting all available money and energy to the building of parish churches and to increasing the numbers of his clergy and the means of supporting them, than with recommencing the building of the Cathedral.[4] The languishing Cathedral project was nevertheless a thorn in the Anglican flesh and the Bishop was not underestimating its importance when, in putting first things first, he relegated it to second place. As Trollope observed, largely on the success or failure of the project rested the idea of

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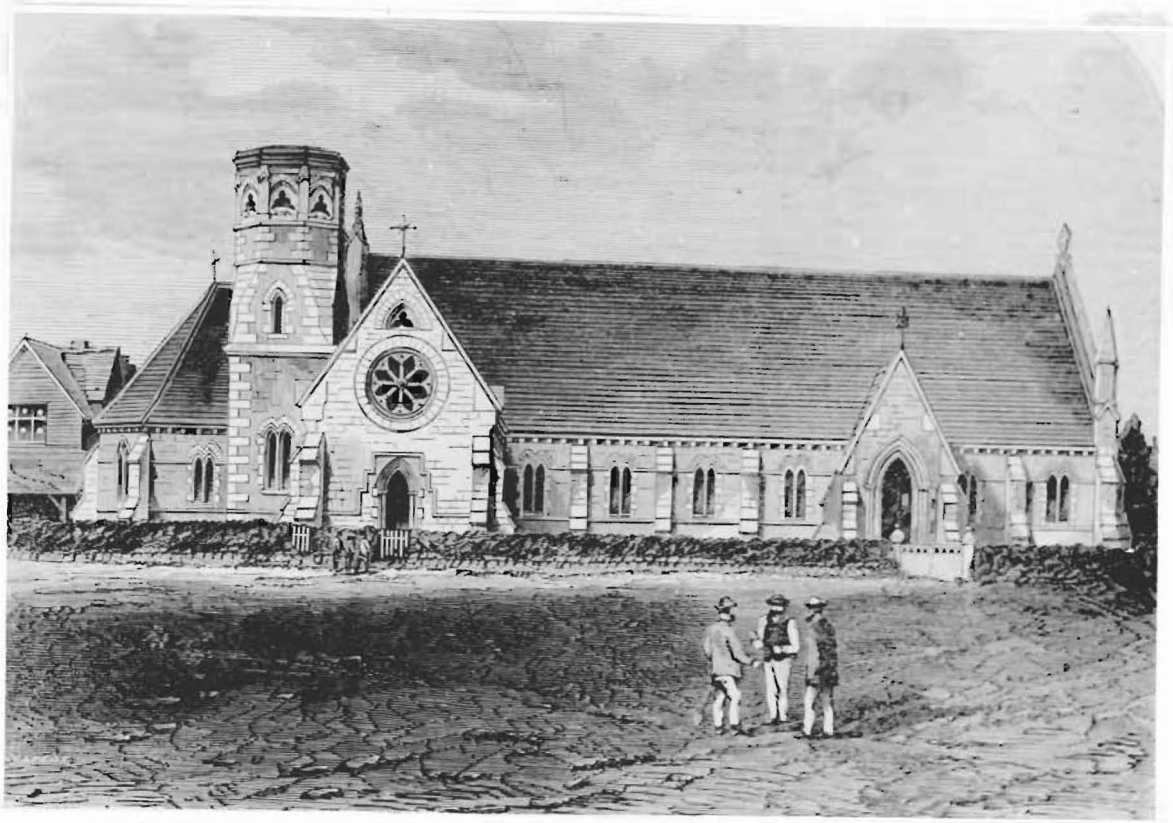
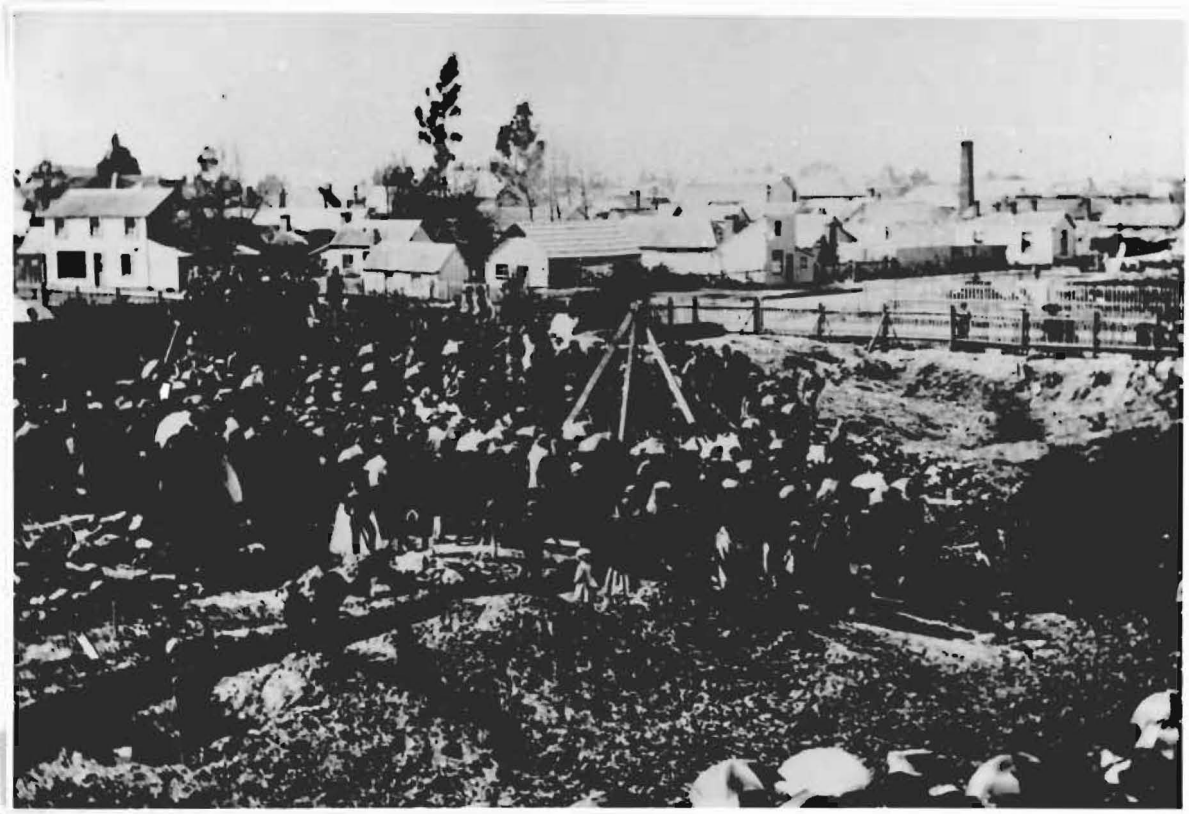
1. Ibid., 1 : 71.
2. Ibid., 1 : 89.
3. Ibid., 1 : 72.
4. See B. Griffiths, Do Nought without a Bishop, 87; Proceedings of Synod, 1871, pp.7, 11.



The Church of St. John the Baptist, Christchurch.

...a handsome Gothic building of grey stone, with white stone dressings.

- The Province of Canterbury, p.11.



The laying of the corner-stone for the new St. Michaels' Church, September 1870.

Canterbury as specially the province of one denomination.[1] But owing to depression and lack of funds nothing had been done since the completion of the foundations in 1865, except that the grass had been mown and the foundations, alone in their glory, ostentatiously white-washed in 1867 on the occasion of Sir George Grey's visit.[2] Although Bishop Harper supported the maintenance of the Cathedral site in the Square against the offer of the City Council to repurchase it - at a critical synod in 1871 a motion to part with the site was only narrowly lost[3] - the Bishop knew the limitations of his finance and was content, in opposition to many of his laity, to keep the project in a state of suspended animation until it was time to revive it.

His fundamental and immediate concerns were churches and clergy. By 1870 he had consecrated at least twenty-four churches[4] and had at least twenty-two clergy working under him in Canterbury,[5] with two more (one being his son Archdeacon H.W. Harper) in Westland, part of his diocese.[6] There were at least thirty-nine places where Anglican divine service was held regularly,[7] if not in a church, then in a schoolroom or wherever was suitable. The year 1870 saw a typical amount of activity and growth, evidenced by the laying of the corner-stone of a new St. Michael's,[8]

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1. See Parr, 68.
2. Ibid.
3. G.M. McKenzie, The History of Christchurch Cathedral, 39-42.
4. Parr, 60.
5. Proceedings of Synod, 1871, Table 13.
6. Until 1866, when the diocese of Dunedin was created, Bishop Harper's diocese had included all the southern part of the South Island.
7. SPA 1871, pp.107-8.
8. LT 30 Sep 1870.

the enlargement of St. Andrew's church, Oxford,[1] proposals for a new church at Waimate,[2] the opening of Rev. J.W. Stack's Maori church at Little River,[3] the laying of the foundation stone of the Ashley Bank church,[4] and the opening of St. Saviour's church at Temuka.[5] At this last opening two services, with congregations of about 115 at each, were conducted by the diocese's newly-appointed mission clergyman, Rev. W.H. Cooper.[6] This appointment witnessed that the needs of the outlying areas did not go unappreciated or unheeded, for Cooper's ambitious function was to travel round all the extra-pariochal parts of the diocese, holding services and administering the Sacraments. And travel he did - one day at Ashburton, the next at Hinds, the next at Grigg's, Longbeach, and from there the following day, to Rakaia.[7] On his first mission, services were held in all the outlying districts of the diocese, except the Peninsula, with most encouraging results, including the establishment of Sunday schools in many hitherto uninstructed areas.

The Bishop felt that the condition of his church was by no means unhealthy. He noted an increasing number of communicants, an increasing number of lay-readers, and a yearly increasing interest in synods by both laity and clergy.[8] He might have considered the numbers attending, not only special occasions such as the opening of St. Saviour's

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1. LT 6 Dec 1870.
2. New Zealand Church News, Sep 1870.
3. LT 24 Jan 1870.
4. LT 29 Oct 1870.
5. New Zealand Church News, Sep 1870.
6. Press 1 Jul 1870; New Zealand Church News, Sep 1870.
7. Ibid.
8. Proceedings of Synod, 1870, pp.7-11.

church at Temuka, but regular Divine service in the city churches. St. Michael's, mother church since 1851, and consecrated in 1859, and St. Luke's, consecrated in 1860, both had an average morning attendance of 400; and St. Michael's and St. John's, consecrated in 1865, had an average evening attendance of 400.[1] There was thus an average attendance of about 2,000 every Sunday in these four central churches. Since there were probably scarcely more than 4,500 Anglicans in the Town Belt area where these churches were,[2] church-going was evidently not taken lightly. Furthermore the congregation was encouraged to take an active interest in Church affairs. At the time of the annual session of the Diocesan Synod in 1870, a public meeting of members of the Church of England was held, with the object of bringing before them some matters of general interest in order to hear their comments and to stimulate discussion. To this end several papers were read. One dealt with ritualism and was entitled: "Of Ceremonies, why some should be abolished and some retained." Another concerned the personal relations and intercourse between ministers of religion and their people; and a third was a plea for the occasional celebration of Holy Communion in the evening.[3] This kind of active participation in Church affairs brought the image of the Church very close to the people and reflected a small, relatively cohesive community, whose ways of thought were largely centred around a hard

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1. Ibid., 1871, Table 13.
2. Ibid., 1870, p.10.
3. Press 9 Sep 1870.

core of religious beliefs.

The literature which the various denominations began to turn out evidenced a maturity of organization and a responsible awareness of the problems arising from expansion. The Church of England had no recognized literary organ until September 1870 when there appeared the first number of the New Zealand Church News, a sixteen page monthly religious and literary periodical specifically representative of Church of England interests. It hoped to reduce isolation by establishing "a bond of union and an organ of communication", and was concerned "to diffuse information, review current events, and help towards the formation of a healthy public opinion".[1] Such idealistic aims were accompanied by an editorial of trite moralizing. Four years earlier the versatile Fraser had initiated the New Zealand Presbyterian, a forty page quarterly, and by 1873 the Canterbury Presbyterian was on the scene.[2] The Methodists, too, were not slow to recognize the virtues of such publicity. In 1870 the Christian Observer was launched, changing its title to the New Zealand Wesleyan in 1871.[3]

The effect of the Churches on the lives of the people is not easy to assess. Much effective humanitarian work was performed by the Churches, despite the fact that many ministers, particularly Methodists or Roman Catholics, were unduly preoccupied with the salvation of souls. Several spheres of activity, formerly in the hands of the Churches, were

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1. New Zealand Church News, Sep 1870.
2. See Elder, 130 (n.)
3. See Christian Observer, no. 1; New Zealand Wesleyan, no. 1.

necessarily being taken over by secular authorities; the educational and humanitarian fields were obvious examples. But secularism had by no means completely engulfed education, and institutions such as the Orphan Asylum or the House of Refuge, although under the control of the Provincial Government by 1870, retained a certain religious aura. Not many years earlier they had been Church-inspired and Church-controlled. Soirées, tea-meetings, and bazaars were commonplace and well-patronised; these functions drew attention to the social activities of the Churches. Tea-meetings were particularly sociable occasions, often running to speeches and music, or readings, and bazaars could be extravagant affairs; one organized by St. Michael's Church Building Fund even ran to charades and magic lanterns. And as Kennaway remarked the church itself often became a convenient meeting ground, an important social catalyst.

But perhaps the deepest effect of the Churches lay in their visible expression of the Christianity of the people, and this meant a great deal. "Mid-nineteenth-century England," writes Kitson Clark, "was very heavily charged with religious feeling or religiosity." He explains this according to the limits of education at the time - "Christianity and the Bible supplied the only comprehensive system of thought of which many people were aware" - and also by the fact that Christianity was presented in a dynamic and most appealing fashion at this time, the period of revivalism.[1] In Canterbury's yet predominantly immigrant community education

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1. Kitson Clark, 284.

standards were only just becoming higher than in England, and much of the force of the religious revival in England had crossed the oceans with the emigrants. It appealed in the new land just as much as in England, but for different reasons and only for a short period. Consequently a similar amount of religiosity can be found in Canterbury at this time; it was a somewhat intangible, indefinable force but it did colour people's thinking strongly and found expression on various occasions.

Such religiosity, for want of a better word, was, as might be expected, most obvious among the Methodists.[1] The Christian Observer and the New Zealand Wesleyan yield a remarkably consistent picture. The moral code is rigid and all-embracing; it seems that there must be a scrupulous letter-of-the-law adherence to a vaguely supernaturally imposed and similarly detailed code of morality. Editorials roundly condemned instability and categorically proclaimed that a steady purpose was indispensable to a pure character and a useful life. Novel-reading had emphatically bad effects. A correspondent bemoaned the state of religion and decried the popular custom of Harvest Home Dinners as "heathen customs of drinking healths and singing songs".[2] Popular entertainments, seen as the main feature of recreation in Canterbury, and commonly but not exclusively conducted under the auspices of one of the Churches, were also objected

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1. Care is needed here, however, as more Methodist literature is available than for the other denominations.
2. Christian Observer, no. 4.

to. For one believer, they did not honour God.[1] Another, less extreme, took exception only to those "devoid of any moral or intellectual worth, aiming to extort fits of laughter and provoke merriment only".[2] Another felt that mere amusement, although perhaps rational amusement, was too low an aim for the Christian Church.[3] It can be seen how all pervading the mantle of religion was felt to be and how earnest and narrow were these considerations.

There was too, on this somewhat extreme level, a certain inability to extend the principles of one's religion to cover unprecedented developments and problems, perhaps the result of new scientific advances. One correspondent to the Christian Observer was most anxious to know whether the use of velocipedes on Sunday was "proper" or not. Another, not quite able to comprehend the point of view developed in a series of lectures by a minister, wished to know how this minister could consider the plagues of Egypt as being merely "intensified natural events".[4] Darwinian rationalism and its scientific approach was not easy for these somewhat literal-minded Christians to assimilate. There was also a certain refusal or inability to escape from dogmatic moral precepts and to consider facts as facts rather than as manifestations of a pre-ordained static moral order. A correspondent had this to say on the view that the troubles of the province were due to lack of population:

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1. Ibid., no. 2.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., no. 11.

> Was the man in his senses who said so? What! did multiplication ever yet produce reformation? Can any legislation insure full pockets to a people who will be constantly emptying them upon their lusts and pleasures?[1]

The Methodists were by no means alone in these extendedly religious outbursts, and many held views considerably less extreme than those illustrated above; there were, indeed, heated arguments among the Methodists on such matters. But a good deal of the behaviour and thought of the time was marked by a certain prudishness, often veiled in religious garb to ensure its easier acceptance. Evidence on charges of rape was inevitably "unfit for publication". The advocates of temperance, although in an obvious minority, kept up loud and sustained moralizings against the evil, believing themselves to be appealing to what was irrefutably right. A minor controversy was stirred up when the City Council passed a bye-law compelling theatres to close by 11 p.m. A newspaper correspondent supported the Council's action, climaxing his argument:

> In conclusion, it is well known that casinos are harbingers of vice, decoying both sexes from the path of rectitude.[2]

Up to a point, this kind of religiosity and the virtues it invoked were well suited to a young society whose members were essentially "on the make". Moral utilitarianism, earnestness, forthrightness, and the urge to improve both self and society, were virtues calculated to produce progress, if of a narrow, materialistic kind. Self-righteousness, as the history of English Dissent showed, was a common

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1. New Zealand Wesleyan, no. 2.
2. LT 8 Apr 1870.

characteristic of successful but not very generously educated men. But by 1870 many of those "on the make" were established, and society was both more heterogeneous and more loosely compounded than any single-minded "Pilgrim Fathers" settlement. The Methodists, although flourishing in Canterbury, were significantly in the minority, and the Anglicans, many of whom were "upper class" and highly educated, were inclined to take a less dogmatic and restricting view of religion and its precepts. The Dean of Christchurch stoutly defended his view that popular entertainments were designed as relaxation rather than direct instruction,[1] a view somewhat removed from those quoted above. Community pressure, in the form of a public meeting, had ensured that the City Council bye-law on theatre closing time was withdrawn. Religiosity was on the wane. The mastery of rough pioneer conditions had encouraged distinctly materialistic attitudes in many, and had thrown up groups of men proud and confident of their own success, but in a different kind of way to the self-righteous God-fearing credit-accruing fundamentalists. Intellectual Darwinism and individualized success and prosperity were combining to throw off the dominating grip of religion on the minds of the people.

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1. See below, Chap. 4, p.126-7.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION, CULTURE AND THE INTELLECTUAL CLIMATE.

(i) The Schools.

> The simple fact is, that there are only three provinces in New Zealand, namely Canterbury, Nelson and Otago - we might perhaps add Hawkes Bay - which take any care of education at all; none of the others can be said to make any provision for it whatever. Such is the result from treating education as a simply provincial question.
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> - The Press, Christchurch, 5 July 1870.

The idealistic founders of the Canterbury Association had been supremely concerned with the question of education and such concern was no less evident in the province in 1870. A variety of opinions and ideas flooded the newspapers, stimulating arguments and controversy; education rivalled drunkenness as a talking point. This was eminently desirable in so young a community - at this time 47% of the male population of the province was under twenty-one years of age, and 57% of the female population.[1] But of all the original ideas for the settlement education had perhaps suffered most in the transition from theory to practice. The system in 1870 was not only far-removed from earlier expectations but anomalous and rather unsatisfactory.

There were a large number of schools in the province - at least ninety-three - but they fell into three distinct

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1. Census, 1871, Table 1.

categories: church schools, district schools and private schools. It had been intended originally that all education would be the function of the Church, the one Established Church.[1] Such plans had gone astray very soon in the history of the province, Church and State had been emphatically compartmented, and ideas on education had had to be rethought. But although the Church's exclusive control of education was early repudiated, for many years the education of the province's children did lie in the hands of the Churches, who built and maintained a number of schools as befitted not only earlier ideas but their wide interpretation of the word "education". Such schools could only be supported with the aid of the State and by the 1857 Education Ordinance the Provincial Government had apportioned a mass grant between the various denominational heads.

But it was not long before the State, driven by the advancing wave of secularism, itself moved into the business of education. The 1857 Ordinance was superceded by that of 1864 and the new provisions remained substantially unaltered until 1871-2. A Board of Education was created with the power to authorize the building of district schools in necessary areas, such schools to be under the control of local school committees and generously subsidized by the Provincial Government. This set the ball rolling for a steady increase in district schools; there were very few before this Ordinance. It also sounded the death knell of the church schools. The reduction of the mass grant to a

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1. Hight and Straubel, 217.

capitation payment of £2 per child in attendance was enough to ruin many church schools as they could not muster a sufficiently high attendance to be able to afford a teacher, and it was not long before the number of such schools began to decline. To the schools provided by the Churches and by the State must be added those of a third party - a number of worthy individuals who had established their own private schools in various parts of the province.

Education was neither free, secular, nor compulsory. Parents of a school-age child[1] were under no obligation to send him or her to school and often the boys neglected their formal education for the farm and the harvest field, the girls theirs for the home, to combat the shortage of domestic servants. Distances and accessibility to the various schools were also points relevant to the fact that only 5,569 of the province's total of 11,011 school-age children attended school.[2] If the children were sent to school, no matter what type, their education was not yet a social service provided by the State and fees of some sort had to be paid, the amount varying with the type of school and occasionally with the financial position of the parents. And despite the prevailingly secular atmosphere all government-aided[3] schools provided some religious instruction; it is very probable that many private schools were most concerned with

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1. i.e. aged between five and fifteen.
2. Census, 1871, Table 20. This proportion (51%) is made worse by the fact that some of these 5,569 pupils were either under five or over fifteen.
3. A convenient term covering both district and church schools.

this aspect of education although some, apparently, were supported by those opposed to religious education in district schools.[1]

These private schools were of an importance out of all proportion to the attention they received, at least officially. Out of the 5,569 children attending schools 2,773, or a little over half, attended private schools.[2] Most of these schools catered for "young ladies" rather than "young gentlemen"; there were at least fourteen private schools for "young ladies" advertised in the Christchurch newspapers at the beginning of 1870. Such schools were often, but not always, conducted by matronly spinisters earnestly fulfilling their role in the community. Miss Candy's Boarding and Day School at Norton Villa, Montreal Street, was a typical example of this kind of school, as was the Christchurch Ladies' School, established in 1853 by Mrs. Charles Thompson at Avon House, Oxford Terrace, or the Young Ladies' Boarding and Day School at Kaiapoi, conducted by the Misses Parnham. For boys only five private schools were similarly advertised.[3] There were also two private "academies", where a wider range of subjects was taught, and two other presumably co-educational private schools. This gives a total of twenty-three private schools in Christchurch and its northern neighbourhood, and there were apparently no less than nine private schools in the Timaru area.[4] But this total of thirty-two private schools in the

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1. See Andersen, 389.
2. Census, 1871, Table 20.
3. Christ's College Grammar School was not then a "private school" but a church school receiving government aid.
4. According to P.W. Hutton. See Andersen, 389.

province must be considerably lower than the actual number, as the government-aided schools, attended by a slightly lower number of children, totalled sixty-one.

These private schools were, of course, obliged to rely on fees alone; these ranged from ten to sixteen guineas per annum for day pupils and from forty to seventy guineas per annum for boarders.[1] These schools were not subject to visits by the Inspector of Schools and hence there was no guarantee that teachers were suitably qualified. But the range of subjects taught often went beyond that of the government-aided schools and might include French and Latin, drawing or chemistry. Fortnightly lectures on natural philosophy were advertised by Mrs. U. MacPherson's Seminary for Young Ladies at Dampier's Bay (they were to be given by her husband who ran the Lyttelton Private School for Boys).[2] Dancing, gymnastics and drawing, private lessons in German, French, singing and Mathematics were advertised by Grindley's Academy in Christchurch. Concerning the relative status of private to government-aided schools, the Inspector of Schools, J.P. Restell, noted in March 1870:

> The attendance in town schools is decreasing. The high rate of fees affords a field of competition to numerous private schools, some of them conducted at the same fees without government aid.[3]

The standard of education in these private schools must have been as high, if not higher than that in the government-aided

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1. But not all fees are known and a lot must have been lower than this to fit in with J.P. Restell's comments. See below.
2. LT 18 Jun 1870.
3. Annual Report of the Board of Education for the year ending 30 March 1870, p.xlvii. CPG 2 May 1870.

schools. One of the four "government scholars" in 1870 came from the Rev. J.D. Fergusson's private school at Lyttelton for the "board and education of young gentlemen".

Church schools yet made up the majority of the sixty-one government-aided schools at this time, there being thirty-three church schools and twenty-eight district schools.[1] Fourteen of these thirty-three church schools were Church of England.[2] Fees substantiated the Provincial Government's capitation grant to church schools but district schools held an obvious financial advantage. By 1871, following the repeal of a clause in the 1864 Ordinance, the residents of an area desirous of a district school had to contribute only one sixth of the cost of the building.[3] The rest was subsidized by the Board of Education which also paid a maintenance fee towards the cost of a teacher, and the 1864 limit of £75 per annum on this fee was also repealed in 1870.[4] Fees, working out at an average of about £2 per child per annum, made up any additional requirements of a district school, and even fees were to be abolished in 1872. As a result of the impetus from such aid district schools had increased from six in 1864 to twenty-eight in 1870; by 1873 there were to be seventy-one in the province, as compared with only eight church schools, all Anglican.[5]

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1. See Appendix C.
2. See above, Chap. 3, p.90 ; M.S. Betteridge, The Church of England and Education in Canterbury 1849-1918, p.103.
3. Report of Board of Education for 1869-70, pp.ii-iii. By the 1864 Ordinance the Board could only put up three-quarters of the cost.
4. Ibid.
5. See Appendix C.

Not only were more district schools being built but many church schools, either from financial necessity or from the pressure of increasing secular feeling, were converting into district schools. Pupils and staff remained intact but control of the school was removed from the hands of one of the denominational heads and vested in a local school committee. In May 1870 exactly this happened to the Church of England school in Timaru after considerable dissatisfaction with the existing state of affairs had been voiced.[1] The newly elected committee did, however, include the church leaders. But the prevailingly secular climate was strong enough for P.W. Hutton to maintain that one reason for the low attendance at the government school, and probably for the number of private schools, was the widely-held impression - it was correct - that the government-aided school was denominational.[2]

These government-aided schools all taught the three Rs, most taught Geography, History and Grammar, and some taught music and other subjects. Concerning the teaching of religion churchmen and secularists were at loggerheads. Church schools could, presumably, teach religion as and how they wished. The 1864 Ordinance had not completely eliminated religious instruction from district schools but did distinguish between religious and secular instruction. There was to be half an hour's compulsory Scripture reading daily on the opening of school; the teacher might also give religious instruction if the school committee agreed unanimously on this.

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1. See Gillespie, 366; Andersen, 389.
2. Ibid.

Attendance at such lessons was compulsory unless a child could be judged to be receiving proper religious instruction elsewhere. In addition, on one whole or two half days a minister could enter and instruct those of his own denominational flock. The religious aura surrounding education was not easily to be dispelled, despite the imminent collapse of so many church schools.

These private, church and district schools generally provided for primary education only. Few children continued their formal education after the age of fifteen; indeed little provision was made for such pupils. There were 200 children under five at government-aided schools in 1870, but only 129 children over fifteen,[1] and these 129 were but a slight fraction of the 1,893 persons in the province aged between fifteen and twenty-one.[2] There were only two secondary or "superior" schools, both for boys, in Christchurch in 1870, the Church of England Christ's College Grammar School and the Presbyterian Christchurch High School, and there were none in Canterbury outside Christchurch. Christ's College was listed with forty pupils aged fifteen and above, and the High School with six.[3] The remaining eighty-five male over fifteen-year-olds must have been scattered about the primary schools.

Forty-four of the province's 129 over fifteen-year-olds

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1. Statistics, 1870, Table 55.
2. Census, 1871, Table 1. Obviously this comparison is too vague but there are no figures for those aged fifteen to seventeen or fifteen to eighteen.
3. Report of Board of Education for 1870-1, p.1. CPG 1 May 1871.

still at school were girls, and of this forty-four twenty-three were being educated at the highly-reputed Roman Catholic Girls' School in Christchurch.[1] Indeed the total number of girls attending schools was not far below the total number of boys and at private schools the number of girls was higher.[2] But higher education for girls was not yet seriously considered.

Aspiring university students were forced to go overseas, back to the Home Country. Some parents apparently even sent their sons home to England for their secondary education. Lyttelton protested against such extravagance, and urged parents to support and strengthen Christ's College, "a good church school", even if "a name somewhat above the reality".[3] By 1870 Otago's efforts towards the founding of a University had borne some fruit and the University of New Zealand had been established by a statute of the General Government. But secondary and university education was not in great demand in a community essentially winning a livelihood from soil and tussock, with labour scarce and all hands needed for the harvest. The case of twelve year old Polly Smith, living away from home and out working for her living, is not likely to have been exceptional.[4]

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1. Ibid.
2. At government-aided schools : males 1,625, females 1,171; at private schools : males 1,294, females 1,479; total males 2,919, females 2,650. Census, 1871, Table 20. The sex ratio of five to fifteen year olds was almost equal : males 5,574, females 5,437. Ibid.
3. Lyttelton, 22.
4. See LT 13 Sep 1870.

Teachers in the government-aided schools were supposed to have qualified for a certificate from the Board of Education. Although in these schools the ratio of teachers to pupils in average attendance was 1 : 26,[1] teachers were not easy to obtain. This sprang, in part, from the lack of any training centre. The Provincial Government was loath to establish a "Normal School"; this was considered the responsibility of the General Government as the Provincial Government could not be sure that a Canterbury-trained teacher would remain in the province; he might - indeed he often did - migrate and offer his services elsewhere.[2] This is a good example of the problems of the provincial system.

The teachers claimed that they were inadequately paid and that they occupied a low rung on the social ladder - two further reasons for their being hard to obtain. The secretary to the Board of Education recognized the heart of the problem and increased the estimates forwarded to the Provincial secretary; it was this move which lay behind the repeal of the restrictive clause in the 1864 Ordinance at the following session of the Provincial Council.[3] Even before this increase a teacher's salary had averaged about £110 per annum; this was somewhat above what the average labourer was earning.

Such was the dissatisfaction of the teachers with their position that they formed an Education Association in August 1870. Its objects were the establishment of a benevolent fund,

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1. Statistics, 1870, Table 55.
2. See Press 20 Jun 1870; LT 30 Jun 1870.
3. LT 6 Oct 1870. See above, p.112.

the arrangement of periodic meetings for the exchange of ideas on education, and the raising of teachers as a group to their proper social sphere.[1] They soon resolved that a commission should be appointed by the Provincial Council to enquire into education in the province with a view to the establishment of a "complete educational system."[2]

The teachers were not the only body campaigning for improvements. People from all walks of life were busily writing letters and articles to the newspapers evolving new and better systems of education. Both Church and State were dissatisfied with the "dual system".[3] The Churches were concerned at the effects of the rise of secularism and the narrowing of their semi-religious interpretation of "education". Bishop Harper was disturbed about the inequitable apportionment of public funds for education purposes.[4] He was aware of the decline of church schools through lack of funds but would not abandon the responsibility of the Church towards the training of the young: "... our duty is plain - we must make every effort to maintain our schools."[5] Three years later his cause was irreparably lost.

The State, too, realized that the system was inadequate; it was not serving the needs of large numbers of children. H.J. Tancred,[6] chairman of the Canterbury Board of Education, saw the system as inequitable between town and country and the Borough Schools Bill which he introduced in the House

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1. LT 20 Aug 1870.
2. LT 5 Nov 1870.
3. A description apparently coined by later commentators.
4. Proceedings of Synod, 1871, pp.9-10.
5. Ibid., 10.
6. MHR for Ashley 1867-70.

of Representatives was an attempt to remedy matters.[1] It was, in fact, coming to be recognized that education was a "national" matter. J.C. Richmond[2] received unanimous approval in the House of Representatives for his resolution: "that it is the duty of this legislature to secure that provision shall be made for the education of the people in all parts of the country."[3]

But there was by no means unanimous condemnation of Canterbury's education system. Much was said and written in its defence, particularly in relation to the other provinces. A correspondent to the Lyttelton Times decried assertions in the Provincial Council that education in Otago was superior to that in Canterbury and claimed that daughters of Otago residents were being educated at a Ladies' School in Christchurch while boys from Otago were being educated at Christ's College Grammar School.[4] The Otago and Nelson systems had their advocates. Even the Press, Christchurch, agreed that "Otago seems inevitably to take the lead in matters of education", citing the exertions to found a University, the liberal landed endowments and the steps being taken to establish a first class girls' school.[5]

Canterbury, Otago and particularly Nelson devoted much larger sums of money and much greater proportions of their provincial government incomes to education than did the northern provinces, which were less wealthy and preoccupied

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1. LT 20 Jul 1870.
2. MHR for Omata 1860-5, Grey and Bell 1866-70.
3. LT 31 Aug 1870.
4. LT 18 Oct 1870.
5. Press 31 Jan 1870.

with the native wars. Taranaki's £243 was dwarfed by Otago's £17,914; an even more unfavourable comparison was Wellington's 1.08% of provincial government income spent on education against Nelson's 7.5%[1]. Nelson, too, had the highest percentage of children under fifteen able to read and write, Canterbury's proportion being the same as the national average and Otago's indeed being below this. Perhaps the systems in Canterbury and Otago were somewhat inefficient in basic essentials. But the most reliable evaluation of how widely children were being reached by the various education systems can be seen from the percentages of school-age children attending school. Here Canterbury's attendance of 51% was 7% below the national average and compared very unfavourably with Otago's 71% or Nelson's 68%.[2] But taken with the reasonable degree of literacy this could indicate that considerable numbers of Canterbury children were yet receiving the rudiments of education in the home. At all events prospects were far brighter in Canterbury than they had been in England; there "it had proved impossible to provide a place in school in which every child might be educated", in fact there was school accommodation for only 46% of the children of age for government grant schools, and only 40% of these children were attending school.[3]

(ii) Beyond the schools; adult education.

The adult population of the province was concerned

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1. See Appendix D.
2. Ibid.
3. Kitson Clark, 193.

not only with the education of the children but, in true Victorian highmindedness, with their own improvement - mental, moral and spiritual. Although 3% of the population over fifteen could not read and 4% could read but not write,[1] there was considerable evidence of interest in "things of the mind" among a wide section of the populace. Conditions were more settled than twenty years earlier and time could more easily be devoted to literary or cultural pursuits. Popular entertainments were often as instructive as amusing, if not more so, even if their primary aim was recreational. Mutual Improvement Associations debated the current political and abstract issues of the day. The Christchurch Mechanics' Institute had been renamed the Christchurch Literary Institute not so much because mechanics constituted such a small proportion of its membership but to cover a wider range of activities.[2] For the intellectual and scientific-minded members of the community there were the monthly meetings, between March and November, of the Philosophical Institute.

The Philosophical Institute, founded and developed through the energy and enthusiasm of Julius Haast (President 1862-71), was the heart of Christchurch's intellectual and cultural life; it was the meeting-place and clearing-house of ideas for literary and scientifically inclined men, for doctors, architects, engineers and educationalists as well as scientists.[3] Formed as early as 1862, it was one of the

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1. Census, 1871, Table 18.
2. See minutes of 8 Jan 1868. Minutes of the Proceedings of the Christchurch Mechanics' Institute.
3. See Von Haast, 241; passim.

first societies in the country to concern itself primarily with the sciences[1] - primarily but not exclusively, for its object was the advancement of science, literature and the arts as well as the development of the resources of the province. The Institute's meetings, held after 1870 in the comfortable quarters of the Literary Institute, generally consisted of discussions and papers. A paper such as "The Geology of Mount Cook" from Haast or "On the Analysis of the Registry of Mortality in Christchurch in the last ten years" from Dr. Powell[2] might follow a discussion on native grasses, about which little were known; accordingly a sub-committee had been appointed to collect information on them, particularly on their applicability to manufacturing purposes.[3] Proceedings were clearly of a scientific and practical nature. Papers from members of other branches, and even from overseas, were communicated, read and discussed; this was of vital importance in keeping the members of isolated communities abreast of current ideas and developments. Attendance at meetings, although reported as "very large" or "more than usually numerous",[4] was generally between twenty or thirty out of a total membership of 100. Similar bodies in the rest of the colony supported roughly equivalent memberships.[5]

The Institute, actively concerned with the province's

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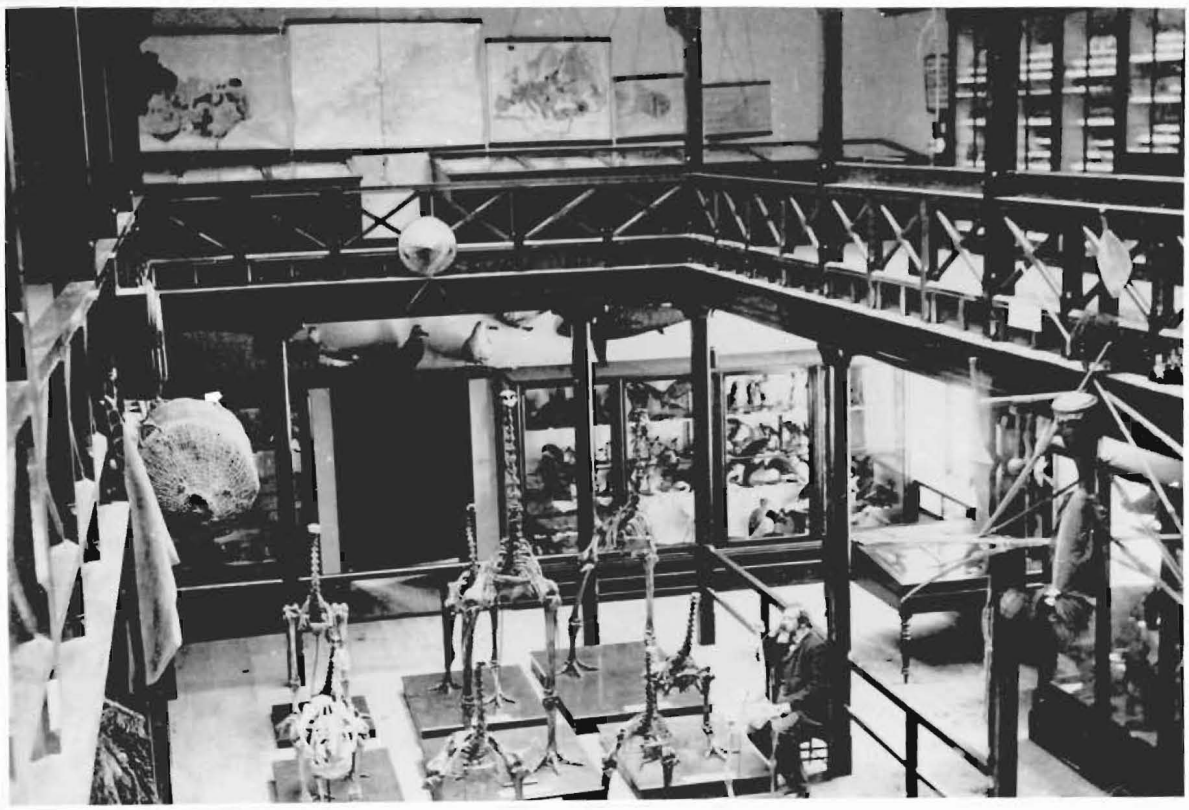
1. It did have one predecessor. See Ibid., 221.
2. See above, Chap. 2, p.54.
3. LT 3 Mar 1870.
4. LT 5 May, 7 Apr 1870.
5. Philosophical Institute of Auckland, approx. 150; Otago, approx. 120; Wellington, approx. 100. Nelson's Association for the promotion of Science and Industry numbered about 80 members. Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute, 1870.



The Museum, 1870.

Julius Haast is seated in the foreground.

progress and development, was particularly interested in projects for higher education. In August 1870 the Institute drew up a petition for the establishment of a Colonial School of Mines and Agriculture in Christchurch, stressing the city's peculiar advantages.[1] The House of Representatives unco-operatively replied that the advisability of establishing such a School not at Christchurch, but at Wellington would be considered. Haast was constantly pushing the view that natural science, as opposed to mathematics or classics, should be the basis of education. Charles Fraser, too, was keen that lectures on scientific subjects should be established in connection with the Museum.[2] The Institute hoped that a permanent Director for the Museum would be appointed, and that this position might be combined with that of a lectureship in natural history. The council of the Institute had ascertained that the Provincial Government was amenable to such ideas.[3]

The Museum was opened to the public in September 1870, thanks to the "spirited canvassing" and "untiring energies" of Haast, and the sum of £1,200 voted by the Provincial Council. The Lyttelton Times, predicting that it would become "a popular place of resort", maintained that it compared favourably with any of its kind in the Southern Hemisphere: "for variety of specimens and excellence of arrangement, it cannot be surpassed."[4] Within a few years it was put forward as

> ...the best in the colony, and...especially

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1. LT 4 Aug 1870.
2. LT 3 Mar 1870.
3. LT 3 Nov 1870.
4. LT 1 Oct 1870.

> remarkable for containing the finest collection of moa skeletons in the world, besides others of the smaller wingless birds of New Zealand.[1]

Forward-looking educationalists hoped that the Museum and the projected Public Library would become the central elements not only in a comprehensive system of higher education, but in the general cultural life of the province.[2]

The functions of a Public Library were fulfilled by the Literary Institute, a body which had sprung from the Mechanics' Institute and "aimed at bringing the arts to the working man".[3] Although struggling financially and later forced to hand over its affairs and property to the Provincial Government, by July 1870 the Institute had a subscribing membership of 140 and a "thoroughly comfortable reading room".[4] By July 1871 membership had increased to 210 and over 500 volumes had been added to the Library; it now contained 2,300 volumes, as well as numerous magazines and pamphlets. The installation of gas lighting and the replacement of forms by chairs had increased the comfort of the reading room, which presented a choice of twenty-seven newspapers and periodicals from the rest of the colony and from abroad, ranging from the Scientific American to the Illustrated London News, from the Mechanics' Magazine to Punch and the European Mail.[5]

The Institute ran Debating and Chess Clubs, also a French class. It had been customary to organize a series

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1. The Province of Canterbury, 11.
2. See below p.132-3.
3. D.E. Wood, The Christchurch Metropolitan Library Service, 1852-1948, p.1.
4. Minutes of 7 Jul 1870. Minutes of the Annual Meetings of the Christchurch Mechanics' Institute.
5. Minutes of 6 Jul 1871. Ibid.

of Winter Entertainments, but owing to the improved reading room and the "numerous other attractions of a similar nature in and around the city" this was abandoned for 1870.[1] But the Literary Institute had assumed the responsibility for the cultural and educational aspirations of the "worker" and provided him with a relaxed atmosphere where he could educate himself if he chose. Attendance at the Institute, however, was never startling as a check made by the clerk of the Institute showed. The check, over a monthly period, revealed the average attendance to be only eight or nine persons a night.[2] As the committee realized, the Institute was contending with a number of rival attractions; not only the public houses, but a proliferation of concerts and an increasing variety of entertainments.

The Christchurch Mutual Improvement Association was founded, in September 1870, on the belief that debates, discussions and readings were valuable means of self-education. In the words of the association's president, "man being an improvable animal, it was their duty to assist each other in intellectual improvement".[3] The association met every Friday night for debate or discussion, and every third Friday was set apart for readings, to be followed by criticism. Debates were generally on moral or abstract topics, such as "On mental and moral improvement" or "Is the use of intoxicating liquors inconsistent with Christianity?" or "Do the lower animals possess reasoning faculties?" Within

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1. Minutes of 7 Jul 1870. Ibid.
2. Minutes of 3 Mar 1870. Minutes of the Proceedings of the Christchurch Mechanics' Institute.
3. LT 17 Jun 1871.

nine months of the first meeting membership had risen to ninety-nine. A reading-room was available to members each evening and a library was being formed.[1]

These intellectual evenings were by no means confined to Christchurch. The Doyleston Mutual Improvement Association cannot have been the only body of rural inhabitants to feel "the importance of some means of intellectual exercise in country districts".[2] Such exercise might often be of practical benefit; "Thomson's road steamer v. a tramway or light railway" was a subject vitally important to all in the area who had produce to convey to market.

Kaiapoi's Mutual Improvement Association also aired matters of immediate importance, and at the first meeting in August 1870 Tancred's Borough Schools Bill was discussed.[3] Among later debates, related to strictly current issues in contrast to the abstractions of the Christchurch Mutual Improvement Association, were "Is scientific farming more applicable to this colony than mechanical farming?" and "Would a loan for immigration tend to the welfare of the colony",[4] the latter subject prompted by the bold borrowing policy outlined in Vogel's Immigration and Public Works Bill. "Is it necessary to keep a standing army in New Zealand?" reflected Granville's recent withdrawal of the Imperial troops.[5] The Kaiapoi Institute, in "flourishing condition" provided facilities and activities similar to the Christchurch Literary Institute, but also arranged popular entertainments.[6]

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1. Ibid.
2. LT 21 Apr 1870.
3. LT 5 Aug 1870.
4. LT 24 Sep 1870; Press 9 Sep 1870.
5. Press 10 Oct 1870.
6. LT 2 Jul 1870.

Akaroa's Literary Institute devoted most of its efforts to entertainments.

The Timaru Mechanics' Institute was prosperous enough to be enlarging its rooms in 1870.[1] A lecture hall, a chess room, two dressing rooms, a stage and a stage room were planned. The lecture hall was completed in August and was judged the largest room in Timaru, being able to seat 300 comfortably. It was used for occasional lectures, such as that by a Mr. Suckling on "Sectarianism or Apostacy",[2] but chiefly for the weekly series of winter entertainments put on by the Institute from May to December. Despite the Institute's apparently flourishing condition these entertainments were not always well patronised; "the public," chided the Timaru Herald, "do not appreciate these entertainments as they should do."[3]

(iii) Cultural activities.

This was not the case in Christchurch where the custom of "winter entertainment" evenings was widespread and popular. Here lay the beginnings of an appreciation of music and literature, of education moving towards the realm of culture, passing beyond the utilitarian instruction of a Mutual Improvement Association. The Dean of Christchurch, opening the Popular Amusement Association's first entertainment for 1870, cautioned against an "excess of the humorous" but added:

I am also aware that the main object of

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1. TH 15 Jan 1870.
2. TH 5 Mar 1870.
3. TH 28 Sep 1870.

> of these meetings is wholesome relaxation and amusement and not direct instruction. We meet here as friends meet at each other's houses, to pass a social and pleasant evening, not to hear lectures and addresses on serious subjects.[1]

The typical programme was a veritable pot-pourri. An evening's entertainment might be made up of nine or ten items - a reading from a popular author, an instrumental selection by a trio, a song from a group, a comic song, poetry excerpts and other vocal or instrumental items. Now and again there would be an evening entirely devoted to readings from Dickens or Shakespeare. The performers were almost without exception amateurs and the quality of items varied somewhat. But audiences were out to enjoy themselves and prepared to forgive the imperfections of their friends on stage. Over 100 persons attended the first entertainment at St. Mary's, Halswell.[2]

During the month of June alone there were eleven of these winter entertainments reported in the Christchurch newspapers - from Governor's Bay to Flaxton, from the schoolroom at St. Michael's to a warehouse in Ferry Road. Lyttelton, Kaiapoi, Akaroa and Halswell all organized entertainments, some weekly but most fortnightly. Small, semi-isolated communities were proving their capacity to be creatively self-sufficient.

There was an abundance of musical activity. In addition to the items at winter entertainments, performances were given by musical societies, fund-raising organizations and

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1. LT 15 Jun 1870.
2. LT 27 Jun 1870.

travelling artists. After a "concert of vocal and instrumental music" organized by the Christchurch Artillery Volunteers, the Lyttelton Times wrote:

> No matter for what end funds are required, almost the first thing suggested is to "get up a concert"... It seems to be now an established principle - at all events it is an established practice - to endeavour to raise money for all objects by means of concerts... Really the Christchurch public must be very fond of music, or very good-natured, to support so many.[1]

The Artillery concert had followed within a week of one in aid of the House of Refuge. Others were held to assist the funds of the Oddfellows' Widow and Orphan Institute[2] or even to raise money for the Leithfield Book Club.[3] Seven hundred people attended the concert, held in the Drill Shed, organized by the Christchurch Fire Brigade in aid of the Lyttelton Fire Relief Fund.[4]

More formal and of a less assorted character were the concerts presented by Christchurch's three musical societies or Timaru's choral society. In 1870 the Christchurch Musical Society gave its fourth and fifth concerts, two were given by the Christchurch Philharmonic Society and three by the Mendelssohn Society, newly-formed for the "improvement of its members in modern classical music".[5] Oratorios were the most popular choice of programme. The climax of the musical year came with a performance, two days before Christmas, of Handel's Messiah, a combined effort by all the musical societies and other interested groups such

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1. LT 26 Oct 1870.
2. LT 16 Jun 1870.
3. LT 25 Jun 1870.
4. LT 3 Nov 1870.
5. LT 30 May 1870.

as the Tonic Sol-Fa Association. This performance expressed the high degree of musical enthusiasm in Christchurch; the Lyttelton Times considered it

> ...a fact worthy of being recorded in the history of Canterbury. It is a great thing and as creditable, that in a small community like that of Christchurch, some two hundred persons can be got together for the practice and public performance of the highest class of sacred music.[1]

Some of these concerts were hardly great successes and press criticism was unrelentingly harsh if the quality of a performance was not considered up to standard. The Lyttelton Times, decrying the low standard of one fund-raising concert, considered some of the singers "so inexperienced" that they had "no business to appear as solo singers on a concert platform".[2] Another such concert apparently wearied the audience long before the programme was got through. It had comprised nineteen items.[3] The concerts of the musical societies were not always much better, one concert from the Philharmonic Society prompting the Lyttelton Times to suggest that the society should cease to exist as a separate organization.[4]

The Timaru Choral Society gave five concerts in the year. Some idea of the casual nature of at least one of these proceedings may be gathered from this report:

> At the time announced for the commencement of the concert on Monday evening, there were not half a dozen persons present, but about half an hour afterwards the room became moderately filled and the concert began.[5]

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1. LT 24 Dec 1870.
2. LT 26 Oct 1870.
3. LT 19 Oct 1870.
4. LT 19 Nov 1870.
5. TH 23 Feb 1870.

Occasionally an individual such as Robert Parker, the talented and versatile manager of the Christchurch Musical Society, would give or arrange a concert himself.[1] Groups of minstrels, such as Rainer's Christy Minstrels, toured round Christchurch and the settlements in the north.[2] "Delightful musical evenings" and "grand operatic and ballad concerts" were advertised by the Carandinis, another touring group of four artists. They returned to Christchurch in March 1870 after a tour of the Australian colonies and performed nightly for three weeks.[3] Timaru and Temuka were visited by Collins's Variety Troupe, which consisted of a vocalist, an "artiste", and a pianist, all from Australia, and a Dunedin musician.[4] The Timaru Herald advised the forthcoming visit of C.R. Thatcher, "the inimitable local vocalist", accompanied by an "unrivalled characteristic and Irish vocalist", an "eminent baritone", and an "eminent pianist".[5] Whether it came from a touring group of entertainers, a fund-raising organization, or a local society, music was clearly one of the fortes of the life of the time.

Drama and theatre further satisfied aspirations for cultural diversions in colonial life. The mainstay of Christchurch theatre was the "Princess' Comedy and Burlesque Company" which performed nightly in the Theatre Royal for an uninterrupted season of seven months. Programmes, which changed every two or three nights, generally consisted of

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1. Press 10 Feb 1870.
2. See LT 5 Apr 1870.
3. LT 8 Mar 1870.
4. TH 7 Dec 1870.
5. TH 4 May 1870.

two pieces from a wide repertoire of operattas, comedies, burlesques and farces. But serious theatre was not neglected and "Hamlet", "Othello" and "Macbeth" were staged during the season; not too badly, according to newspaper critiques. Various other professional "artistes", such as Miss Rose Evans and Mr. G. Claremont, "from the principle English and Australian theatres",[1] or the "celebrated" Gourlay family,[2] spiced the dramatic scene with true "variety".

Amateur theatricals, again often to raise funds, were also in vogue; at one performance the Lyttelton Colonists' Hall was "crammed to suffocation in every part".[3] Programmes at these affairs were almost always farce or burlesque. An amateur performance to celebrate the opening of the new hall for the Timaru Mechanics' Institute consisted of three farces. For their final performance for the year the Timaru Garrick Club staged the trial scene from "The Merchant of Venice" together with two farces. This was to be a spectacular performance and it was announced "the pieces will be put upon the stage, as suitable dresses have been procured from Christchurch".[4] There was certainly no denying the popularity of farces. They were, perhaps, one outlet from the restrictive codes of behaviour of the age.

While music and theatre flourished, what of art? In this respect 1870 was an important year for in February Canterbury's first Art Exhibition was opened. In contrast

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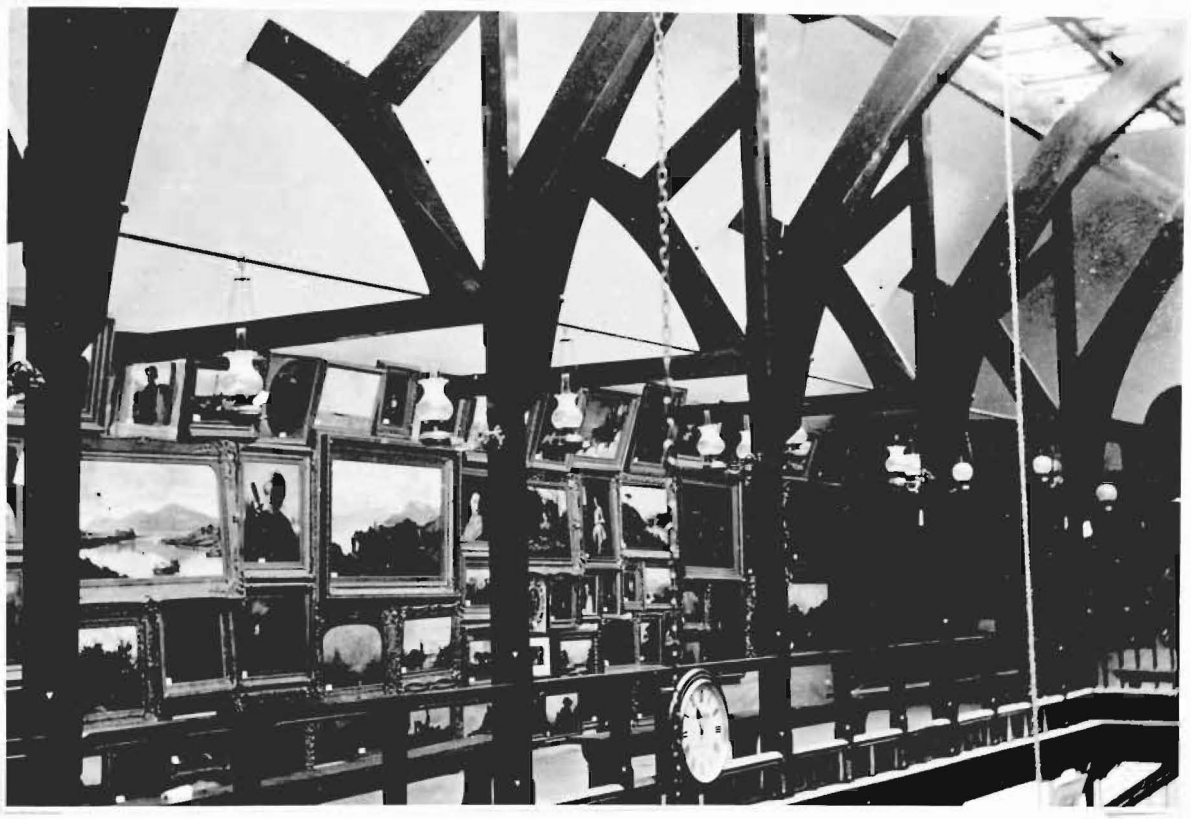
1. LT 25 Jul 1870.
2. LT 11 Oct 1870.
3. LT 24 Mar 1870.
4. TH 26 Oct 1870.



The Art Exhibition, February 1870.

to the 1865 Dunedin Exhibition, when attention was concentrated on material resources, the emphasis of the Canterbury Exhibition was on art and the cultivation of taste. Rolleston, addressing the crowd at the opening of the Exhibition, turned from nineteen years of material and educational progress:

> The present, however, is so far as I am aware, the first time that we have been able to achieve any special effort in the promotion of the advancement of art.[1]

The Exhibition itself unearthed a magnificent variety of junk. The central display of paintings was surrounded by sections of Polynesian Art, engravings, archaeology - "a jumble of odds and ends" - numismatics, the coins being "singularly small and valueless", an Indian collection, some valuable plate and jewellery and the usual curiosity section.[2] Exhibits, totalling over 3,000, had come from all over the colony. People flocked to gaze at all these things, and the musical entertainments on selected evenings proved a further draw; on one such day the average daily attendance of between 200 and 300 soared to a peak of 700. The Exhibition did not finally close till April, long after its appointed time had run out. In his opening address Rolleston had indicated how such an Exhibition might augur for the future:

> We trust that this Exhibition may be an incentive to the public generally to assist and sympathize with the object many of us have long had in view in connection with a public museum, laboratory, library and school of art - the promotion by means of lectures, classes, and otherwise, of the general study and cultivation of the various branches and departments

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1. Press 9 Feb 1870.
2. Press 4 Apr 1870.

of art, science, literature and philosophy.[1]

(iv) The Intellectual Climate.

It was the crave for intellectual food,
For which a young enthusiast Thinker pines,

. . . . .

Ambition - progress - all the hope and pride
Of true existence seemed to him denied.
That land so rich in Beauty's sensuous smile
Seemed for the Soul, only a desert Isle.

- A. Dommett, Ranolf and Amohia (1872) 2 : 243-4.

The healthy condition of the various Institutes, the many concerts and entertainments, and the prolonged popularity of the Art Exhibition are sufficient evidence that the struggle for security and the consequent cultural barrenness of the pioneer years were essentially in the past. Economic realities, although pressing, no longer completely monopolized time and energy. But it would be foolish to overstate the case and claim the existence of any kind of intellectual atmosphere. The Philosophical Institute not only commanded a very limited audience but was severely scientific in its activities, even if Haast and his friends were civilized and cultured men of learning. Most concerts and entertainments were second rate and devoid of any intellectual possibilities. There was neither the leisure nor the environment for the existence of an exclusively intellectual coterie. There was no university and no adequate substitute centre for the discussion of new

1. Press 9 Feb 1870.

ideas, and there could be little concentrated studying or research of a scholarly nature. All this lay in the years ahead. Haast's work in scientific fields stands out as superbly exceptional.

But merely to affirm the absence of anything that can seriously be termed an intellectual atmosphere is not to paint the full picture. There were good omens for the future. It was significant that Canterbury did contain more than her share of educated upper-class Englishmen. On the accuracy of this point a recent scholar has concluded:

> There seems little reason to dispute the common view that Canterbury attracted more educated, cultivated, well-connected settlers than did other provinces.[1]

Governor Bowen expressed a similar opinion in 1868 when he remarked to E.R. Chudleigh that all the young men of family in New Zealand appeared to belong to Canterbury.[2] Such "educated, cultivated" men often had degrees from Oxford or Cambridge and were imbued with the love of learning which grows from a classical education; even pioneering conditions far away from the heat of new ideas in the Old World could not tarnish their cultured minds. News from the Old World generally reached New Zealand within at least two months. Indeed such learning and culture might well provide a man with an oasis of strength in the wilderness of the new conditions, and these educated men seem to have derived great satisfaction and stimulus from indulging the tastes to which their upbringing in the Old World had inclined them.

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1. D.G. Herron, The Structure and Course of New Zealand Politics 1853-1858, p.30.
2. Richards, 229.

They were most concerned to preserve the trappings of civilization in their often uncivilized surroundings. It was this kind of attitude which lay behind Rolleston's aspirations for the educational and intellectual future of the province, or Samuel Butler playing Bach's fugues in the solitary outback, or FitzGerald's concern that the literary standard of the Press should be as high as possible. Chudleigh, apparently not a university educated man - he had gone to school at Truro where he learned a little latin and no spelling[1] - used to amuse himself by reading Macaulay's Essays or Ecce Homo; he also talked with Butler about Darwinism and enjoyed good singing and sacred music.[2]

Such examples were numerous, and the contents of the newspapers further testify to the standard of education not only of their editors but of many readers. Correspondence columns bulged with esoteric, if pompous arguments on literature or religion, and discussions, supremely unimportant practically, about the correct spelling of a word like hippopotamus.[3] Let one example characterise the penchant for classical illusion of many such minds. Advertising a "snug property" as a great bargain and an "unparagoned opportunity", the seller was apparently taking this course reluctantly; as he expressed it, "my poverty but not my will consents".[4]

But the majority of the populace was, of course, untouched by such literary vagaries. The struggle for existence

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1. Ibid., 17.
2. Ibid., 140, 218, 125-6, 222.
3. LT 23 Jun 1870.
4. LT 21 Nov 1870.

had encouraged primarily materialistic and functional ways of thought, epitomized in Butler's comment that in Canterbury a mountain was only considered beautiful if it had good grass on it. It was noted, too, by observers in England that when a colonial returned to his homeland on a short visit, success had perhaps spoilt him and his talk was of money-bags and land and possessions. Englishmen of all kinds, educated and uneducated, had emigrated to Canterbury; in the world of the intellect such divisions as had existed in England persisted in Canterbury at this time. There had not been long enough for colonial life to effect the changes which followed in later years.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

> ...it [Canterbury] is second in achieved success to no colony sent out from Great Britain.
>
> - A. Trollope, New Zealand, 81.

To this, then, had Canterbury come in 1870: its people, off to the best of starts in 1850, had sweated and toiled to make the most of their favoured environment and within twenty years, despite depression, had caused the province to be rated as Great Britain's most advanced colony. In other parts of New Zealand settlers were sweating and toiling, too, but against greater obstacles and without the same results. The outstanding nature of Canterbury's success in comparison with the war-stricken northern provinces highlighted the inadequacies of the provincial system for New Zealand as a whole, and the increasing gulf between prosperous and not so prosperous provinces was nurturing the concept of New Zealand as a nation. The abolition of the provinces lay only six years ahead.

But the overall picture of Canterbury as a thriving and prosperous settlement, needs modification, as has been shown. Obviously there is no one portrait of Canterbury in 1870, from which one can isolate something as "the essence of Canterbury" in 1870. Perhaps the most salient features of the Canterbury scene in 1870 were the inconsistencies and

contradictions. The picture which has emerged from the above pages might almost be described as a "diversified mosaic". On the one hand the settlement was acknowledged as successful and prosperous; on the other hand the economy was super sensitive and there were a number of cases of hardship and distress. Trollope might observe that there were no poor or squalid cottages in Christchurch yet slums were apparently swept away by the Lyttelton Fire. But it could safely be claimed that conditions for the "average man" in Canterbury were a lot better than in England, where thousands died of starvation or malnutrition and frustrated ambitions crushed the spirits of many more.

The element of contrast showed up in one respect in particular. Civilized men had betaken themselves to a new land; and, as has been shown, within twenty years their civilized habits were clearly, transformingly, shining through their surroundings. But it could not be expected that Canterbury would become a new, even a better, England overnight. Much was undeveloped and unfinished, much not barely begun. Lyttelton summed up this atmosphere:

> We shall perhaps be most struck with the sharp contrasts that are inevitable between the highest products of civilization, which the emigrants cannot but take with them and keep with them, and the roughness and unfinishedness equally inevitable in most of their circumstances. In themselves, in their manners, their inbred and cultivated refinement, in the internal management of their houses, their books, their church services, their railway trains, and other things, they are pretty much what they were at home.

All around them, however, lay "vast powers of nature, undeveloped and slumbering".[1] It was a land of achievement,

1. Lyttelton, 37.

but more than this, a land of opportunity.

APPENDIX A : CRIME RATE

	Canterbury			New Zealand		
	Convictions	Population	Ratio	Convictions	Population	Ratio
1861	641	16,040	1:25	3,490	99,021	1:28
1864	1,121	32,276	1:29	11,357	172,158	1:15
1867	1,551	38,333	1:25	11,209	218,688	1:19
1870	1,899	46,801	1:24	11,990	256,393	1:21
1874	3,801	58,775	1:15	13,942	299,514	1:21

For number of convictions see Statistics, 1861, Table 64; 1864, 2 : Table 52; 1867, 2 : Table 56; 1870, Table 62; 1874, pp.208-11.

For population figures see Census, 1871, Table 2; Statistics, 1874, p.13.

The 1867 figures do not include Westland.

APPENDIX B : CONVICTIONS FOR DRUNKENNESS

(a) Convictions for drunkenness per head of population.

	Canterbury			New Zealand		
	Convictions for drunkenness	Population	Ratio	Convictions for drunkenness	Population	Ratio
1867	255	38,333	1:150	5,159	218,688	1:42
1870	509	46,801	1:91	4,660	256,393	1:55
1874	1,183	58,775	1:49	5,466	299,514	1:55

(b) Convictions for drunkenness as a proportion of total convictions.

	Canterbury			New Zealand		
	Convictions for drunkenness	Total Convictions	%	Convictions for drunkenness	Total Convictions	%
1867	255	1,551	17%	5,159	11,209	46%
1870	509	1,899	27%	4,660	11,990	39%
1874	1,183	3,801	31%	5,466	13,942	39%

For the sources of these figures see Appendix A.

The 1867 figures do not include Westland.

APPENDIX C : CHURCH AND DISTRICT SCHOOLS

	Church Schools	District Schools	Total
1864	30	6	36
1867	29	16	45
1870	33	28	61
1873	8	71	79
1877	2	115	117

Figures are from Canterbury Board of Education's report, 30 March 1878, and apply as to quarter ending 30 September each year. Quoted by A.G. Butchers, Centennial History of Education in Canterbury, 56.

APPENDIX D : PROVINCIAL EDUCATION SYSTEMS

(i) Monies spent 1870.

	Population	Provincial Government Revenue	Amount Spent on Education	% of Revenue Devoted to Education
Canterbury	46,801	£167,612	£7,351	4.37
Otago	60,722	£377,141	£17,914	4.75
Nelson	22,501	£99,049	£7,423	7.5
Auckland	62,335	£147,885	£1,595	1.08
Wellington	24,001	£54,604	£763	1.39
Taranaki	4,480	£7,477	£243	3.25
Hawkes Bay	6,059	£27,016	£977	3.62

Population figures from Census, 1871, Table 1.

Revenue and education figures, for year ending 31 December 1870, from Statistics, 1870, Table 34.

(ii) Relative literacy of children under 15 in 1870.

	Percentage of children able to read and write		
	M	F	Total
Canterbury	34	32	33
Otago	30	30	30
Nelson	37	38	37.5
Auckland	33	33	33
Nat. av.	33	32	32.5

Figures from Census, 1871, Table 18.

(iii) Proportion of school-age children attending schools.[1]

	School-age Population	Numbers at Schools	Proportion
Canterbury	11,011	5,569	51%
Otago	12,005	8,555	71%
Nelson	4,300	2,931	68%
Auckland	14,045	7,495	53.5%
Wellington	6,002	3,195	53%
Nat. av.	54,771	31,710	58%

1. "Schools" here includes all categories; private, church, and district. Some of those attending are not included in the school-age population; i.e. they are under five or over fifteen years of age.

   Figures from Census, 1871, Table 20.

A Note on Certain Sources

(i) Lyttelton, George (Lord, fourth baron) : Two Lectures on a Visit to the Canterbury Colony in 1867-8, (London) 1868.

Lord Lyttelton had been closely concerned with the history of Canterbury from the start. He was a foundation member of the Canterbury Association, chairman of the Association's Management Committee, and one of several individuals who had guaranteed the finances of the Association at a crucial stage. In January 1868 he had arrived in Canterbury for a short visit, during which he was accorded all suitable celebrations and shown over many parts of the province. His Lectures, written and published on his return to England, reveal him to be shrewd, observant, and alive to the salient features of life in Canterbury at the time.

See : Hight and Straubel, 164.
LT 27 Jan 1868.
SPA 1869, p.111.

(ii) Barker, M.A.S. (Lady) : Station Amusements in New Zealand, (London) 1873.

: Station Life in New Zealand, (London) 1870.

Lady Barker married F.N. Broome in 1865 and went to live at Steventon, her husband's sheep-farm in the Malvern Hills. But after a bad winter in 1867 Broome sold out to his partner and the Broomes left for England in January 1869. Apparently Broome's literary tastes encouraged Lady Barker to

publish her first book, Station Life in New Zealand, in 1870, and its success prompted the second venture three years later. Her books have been described as exaggerated, also as the best picture that we have of the station life of the period. In using them as source material it must be remembered that she was one of the "ladies" of the settlement, that she moved in a restricted, if active circle and that she took her social position for granted. She has even been described as completely lacking in insight.

See : L.G.D. Acland, The Early Canterbury Runs, 227-8.
A review of Station Life in New Zealand by R.M. Burdon in the Listener, date unknown.

(iii) Trollope, A. : New Zealand, (London) 1874.

Trollope, one of the most prominent English novelists of the time, sailed from Liverpool with his wife in May 1871, to attend the marriage of their son in New South Wales in December 1871. The visit to New Zealand was part of their return journey to England. His work is a most valuable source for not only did he have comparative experience of all the Australian and New Zealand settlements, but his purpose in writing on the colonies was to be as informative and complete in description as possible. He realized how erroneous and vague were the ideas of many Englishmen on the colonies and he set out to correct this situation. Critics considered his work the best of its kind that had appeared.

See : M. Muir, Anthony Trollope in Australia, 1-15, 82-90.

(iv) Kennaway, L.J. : Crusts. A Settler's Fare due South, (London) 1874.

Laurence Kennaway, one of three brothers who emigrated from Devonshire, arrived in Canterbury early in its history and was squatting at Alford in 1854. He also had interests in the Clayton, Rollesby and Opawa runs at different stages of his career. His book is a pungent description of early station life in Canterbury, and contains some interesting observations from one who was in the thick of much early Canterbury life.

See : Acland, 115, 167-8, 314.

(v) Census Returns

The 1871 census is the first printed as a separate volume, the censuses for 1861, 1864 and 1867 being published as part 1 of Statistics of New Zealand. The census which would normally have been taken in 1870 was held over until February 1871.

Care must be taken when comparing Canterbury in 1870 with Canterbury in 1867, that statistics for 1867 do not include Westland.

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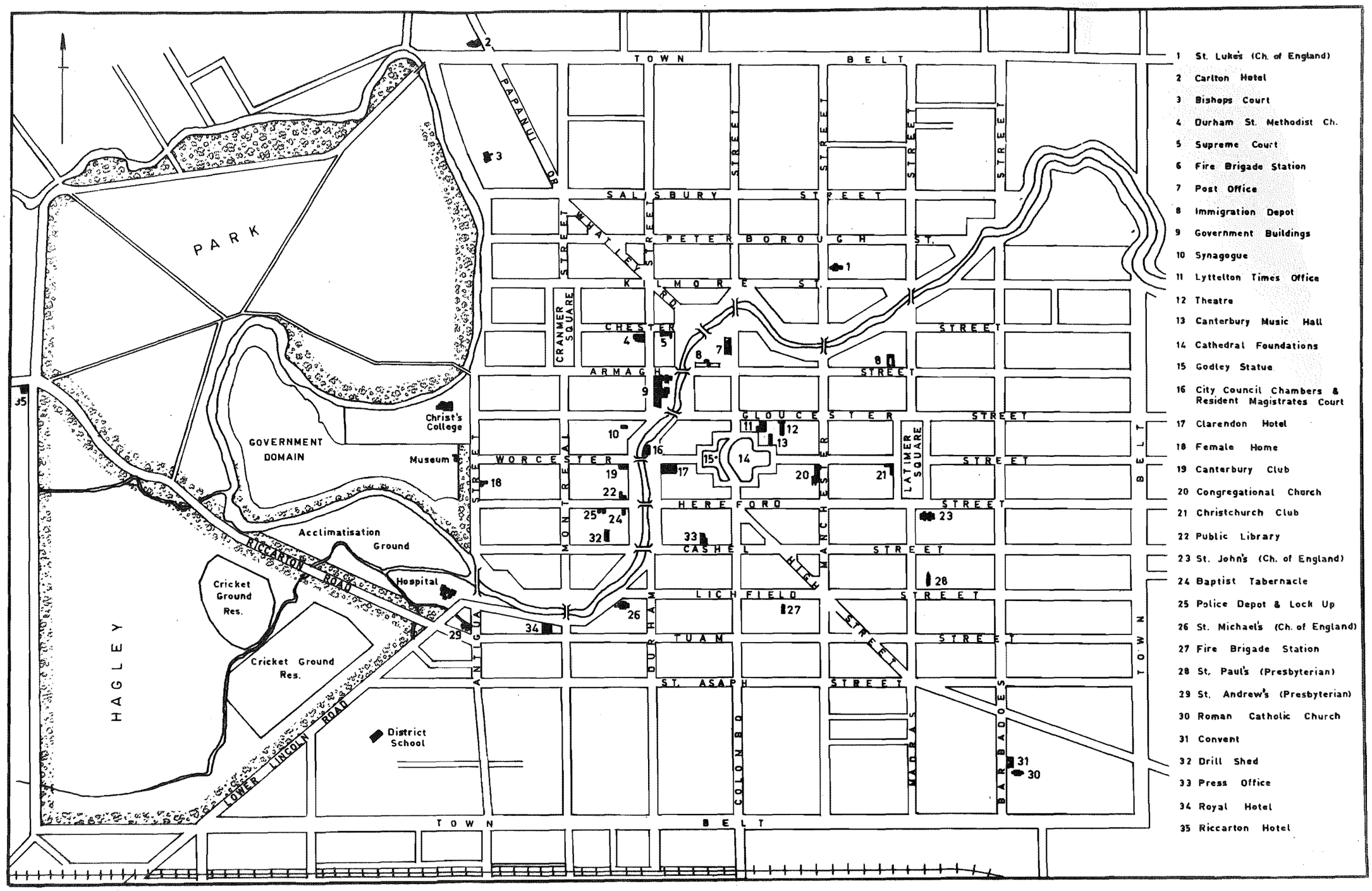
A map showing Christchurch
as it was in 1870.

From a map of Christchurch, 1874, published
by the Lyttelton Times Office.


PARK
GOVERNMENT DOMAIN
Christ's College
Museum
Acclimatisation Ground
Hospital
Cricket Ground Res.
Cricket Ground Res.
District School
HAGLEY
RICCARTON ROAD
LOWER LINCOLN ROAD
PAPANUI RD
TOWN BELT
SALISBURY STREET
PETERBOROUGH ST.
KILMORE ST.
CHESTER STREET
ARMAGH STREET
GLOUCESTER STREET
WORCESTER STREET
HEREFORD STREET
CASHEL STREET
LICHFIELD STREET
TUAM STREET
ST. ASAPH STREET
MONTREAL STREET
ANTIGUA STREET
DURHAM STREET
MANCHESTER STREET
COLOMBO STREET
MARRAS STREET
BARBADOES STREET
CRANMER SQUARE
LATIMER SQUARE
WHATLEY STREET
1 St. Lukes (Ch. of England)
2 Carlton Hotel
3 Bishops Court
4 Durham St. Methodist Ch.
5 Supreme Court
6 Fire Brigade Station
7 Post Office
8 Immigration Depot
9 Government Buildings
10 Synagogue
11 Lyttelton Times Office
12 Theatre
13 Canterbury Music Hall
14 Cathedral Foundations
15 Godley Statue
16 City Council Chambers & Resident Magistrates Court
17 Clarendon Hotel
18 Female Home
19 Canterbury Club
20 Congregational Church
21 Christchurch Club
22 Public Library
23 St. John's (Ch. of England)
24 Baptist Tabernacle
25 Police Depot & Lock Up
26 St. Michael's (Ch. of England)
27 Fire Brigade Station
28 St. Paul's (Presbyterian)
29 St. Andrew's (Presbyterian)
30 Roman Catholic Church
31 Convent
32 Drill Shed
33 Press Office
34 Royal Hotel
35 Riccarton Hotel

CANTERBURY 1870

NOTE The south west corner of Canterbury Province not shown

0 16
Miles

Less than 1,000 ft
Between 1,000 and 5,000 ft
More than 5,000 ft
Railway
Provincial Boundaries
Dray Roads

WESTLAND

Hurunui River
Waipara R
Ashley R
Waimakariri R.
Rakaia R.
Ashburton R.
Rangitata R.
Orari R.
Opihi R.
Pareora R.
Waitaki River

1.	Leithfield	16.	Akaroa
2.	Rangiora	17.	Southbridge
3.	Woodend	18.	Ashburton
4.	Kaiapoi	19.	Mt Peel Station
5.	Courtney	20.	Hinds
6.	Christchurch	21.	Orari Gorge Station
7.	Hororata	22.	Longbeach Station
8.	Lyttelton	23	Fairlie
9.	Rapaki	24.	Burkes Pass
10.	Governor's Bay	25	Temuka
11.	Lincoln	26.	Arowhenua
12.	Alford Station	27	Washdyke
13.	Ellesmere	28	Timaru
14.	Doyleston	29	Te Waimate Station
15	Little River	30.	Waimate

Dray Roads from map of Province of Canterbury: Survey Office Christchurch Dec. 1867